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ABSTRACT

This grammar of Pashto was designed to accompany a set of beginning- and intermediate-level instructional materials for teaching the Pashto language to English speakers, but can be used separately as a reference by readers who are not learning the language. Introductory sections in English and Pashto describe the content and organization. The first chapter gives background information on the people who speak it and on the language (history, social status, dialects, standardization, and history of its study). Subsequent chapters address grammatical forms and uses in the language, including: phonology and pronunciation; Pashto word stock and their origins, borrowings from Persian, Arabic, Urdu, English, and Russian and other languages; the Arabic-based writing system, written literature, alphabet, and punctuation; nouns; pronouns; adjectives; verb forms and verb uses; prepositions; simple sentence structure; conjunction; and subordinate clause structure. Contents are indexed. (MSE)

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A Reference Grammar of Pashto

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A Reference Grammar of Pashto

Habibullah Tegey
Barbara Robson

Center for Applied Linguistics
Washington, D.C.
1996

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The *Grammar* is the final component of a set of materials teaching the Pashto language to English speakers, all developed at the Center for Applied Linguistics. The other components are:

Beginning Pashto (textbook, workbook, tapescripts, teachers' manual)
Intermediate Pashto (textbook, workbook, teachers' manual)
Pashto Reader (textbook, originals, passages in transcription)
Pashto Conversation (tapescripts, workbook)
Pashto-English Glossary for the CAL Pashto Materials

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We are grateful to Dr. Fazel Nur, for his ongoing service to the project as a 'second opinion' on the Pashto examples and analyses.

We are especially indebted to Taylor Roberts, graduate student in linguistics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose careful reading and extensive, detailed comments have improved the grammar exponentially in accuracy, consistency and readability.

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To the Reader

As a component of the Center for Applied Linguistics' Pashto teaching materials, this grammar is intended to accompany, organize and amplify the presentations of grammar in *Beginning* and *Intermediate Pashto*. It can also be used independently by readers who are not learning to speak the language. As is appropriate with a reference grammar, the Table of Contents and Index are designed so that the reader can find the pages in which specific topics are described. The chapters can also be read through in order, for an overall picture of Pashto grammar.

Charts of forms and and other such information are given in boxes, for example:

'student'	*DS* : [shāgárd]	شاگرد	*DP* : [shāgərdā́n]	شاگردان
M1	*OS* : [shāgárd]	شاگرد	*OP* : [shāgərdā́no]	شاگردانو

which shows the different forms that an M1 noun can occur in. Abbreviations used in the tables are given at the beginnings of chapters.

Example words are presented in Pashto script, transcription, and gloss (= translation into English) In presenting words and short phrases, the following format is used:

'gloss' [transcription] *Pashto script*

for example:

'Pashto' [paxtó] پښتو

In presenting longer phrases and sentences, a word-for-word gloss is given, and the following format is used:

[transcription]	*Pashto script*
word-for-word gloss	'Idiomatic translation'

for example:

[paxto ḍera pə zṛə́ pore zə́ba da.]	پښتو ډېره په زړه پورې ژبه ده.
Pashto very with heart like language is	'Pashto is an interesting language.'

The word-for-word gloss includes grammatical information if necessary or useful, for example:

[wə́gay ye?]	وږی یې ؟
hungry *be2S*	'Are you hungry?'

Attempts have been made to keep each word in the word-for-word gloss directly under its Pashto equivalent, but unavoidable vagaries in the fonts and word processing program frequently crowd the word-for-word glosses to the left.

We have taken steps to simplify the presentation of examples for the reader who is not working with *Beginning* and *Intermediate Pashto*, by keeping the appearance of new vocabulary to a minimum. The same people and objects appear from example to example, and when possible, the same sentences appear from section to section with appropriate changes in tense, number, etc., to illustrate the points being made.

The reader is urged to remember that this grammar, and other grammars of Pashto, are much more tentative than are grammars of English or other languages with long grammatical traditions. As we mention in Chapter 1, Pashto grammatical studies are in their infancy, and such simple matters as the number of noun classes or names of the tenses are by no means definitely agreed on, as they are for languages that have been studied for a long time. We hope that this grammar corrects and refines previous studies of Pashto (including some of the analyses in *Beginning* and *Intermediate Pashto*), and at the same time fully expect that subsequent studies of Pashto grammar will correct and refine our work.

As we have developed the grammar, we have come to respect more and more the work of Herbert Penzl, whose 1955 grammar of Pashto was developed under far more difficult practical circumstances, and within a much more 'restrictive' grammatical framework, than ours. We dedicate this grammar to his memory.

Habibullah Tegey
Barbara Robson

یادونه

ځرنگه چه ددې کتاب په عنوان کې د گرامر تر څنگه د «رفرنس» کلمه هم راغلې ده، نو له دې امله پدې لنده سریزه کې، اول، باید ووایو چه گرامر مختلف ډولونه لری. یو ډول گرامر هغه دی چه د رفرنس گرامر په نامه یادېږی او خانته مفهوم لری. دلته دا اصطلاح دداسې یوه مختص گرامر په معنا استعمال شوې چه د پښتو ژبې انگلیسی ویونکی شاگردان، د خپلو نورو درسی موادو د مهم په توگه استفاده ترې وکړی.

«دتطبیقی ژبپوهنې مرکز» له کال ۱۹۸۹ نه رادی خواته دهغو امریکایانو د پاره چه غواړی پښتو زده کړی، د درسی کتابونو یوه سلسله ولیکله. پدی کتابونو کې د پښتو ژبې د مربوطو گرامری خصو صیاتو په باره کې هم لازم بحث شوی ؤ. خو د «مرکز» په نظر دا لنډ گرامری توضیحات کافی نه وو او دې ته ضرورت لیدل کېده چه د پښتو ژبی دعمده گرامری خصوصیاتو دیو څه زیاتره او منظم توضیح دپاره یو لنډ پښتو گرامر هم ولیکل شی او ددغو درسی موادو له سلسلې سره ملگری شی.

د گرامر دلیکلو عمده هدف له شاگردانو سره د هغو گرامری پوښتنو او مسایلو دروښانولو په باره کې مرسته ده چه د «مرکز» ددرسی سلسلې د زده کړې په وخت کې ور سره مخامخ کېږی. خو لکه څنگه چه له درسی کتابونو نه د پوره استفادې یو ډېر اساسی شرط ښه معلم دی، له گرامر نه هم پوره استفاده هلته کېدای شی، چه سړی ښه معلم ولری.

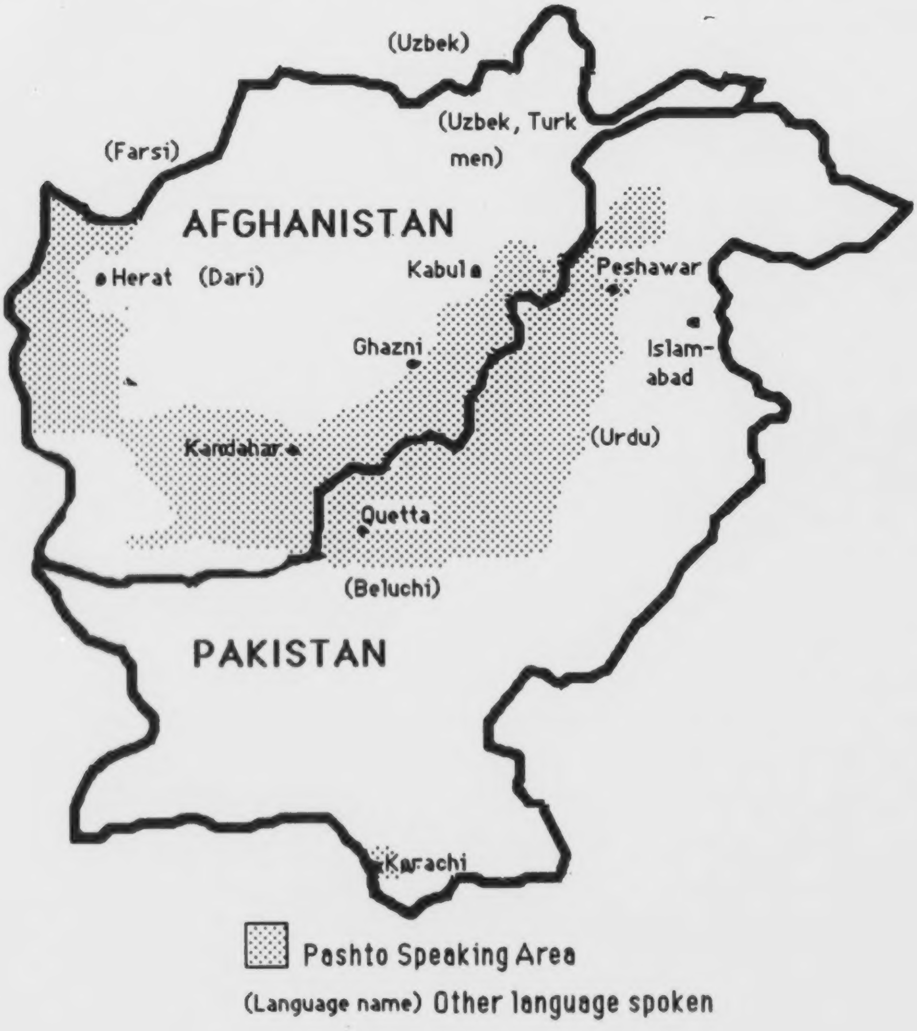
هیله ده چه دا گرامر به د پښتو ژبې د ټولو هغو شاگردانو د پاره گټور وی چه انگریزی متن لوستلی شی.

- تړی

Chapter 1: Pashto and the Pashtuns

A. The People Who Speak Pashto

Pashto is a principal language in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is spoken natively by over half the population of Afghanistan, an estimated 7,500,000, and by about 90% of the population in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan, an estimated 14,000,000. Pashto is also spoken natively in Baluchistan, the province of Pakistan directly south of central Afghanistan; there is a community of about two million who speak Pashto natively in Karachi; and there are about 50,000 native speakers in Iran.


(Uzbek)
(Uzbek, Turk men)
(Farsi)
AFGHANISTAN
Herat
(Dari)
Kabul
Peshawar
Ghazni
Islam-abad
(Urdu)
Kandahar
Quetta
(Beluchi)
PAKISTAN
Karachi
▨ Pashto Speaking Area
(Language name) Other language spoken

The majority of Pashto speakers occupy a single geographical area which constitutes roughly the southern part of Afghanistan and the northeastern part of Pakistan. This predominantly Pashtun area is bordered by Dari speakers in the north; Dari is a dialect of Persian, and is the other major language in Afghanistan. The areas to the northeast are adjacent to Uzbek- and Turkmen- speaking areas in Afghanistan, which themselves border Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. The Pashto-speaking area is bordered on the southeast by Urdu speakers, and by Beluchi speakers directly south. Pashto speakers and these other ethnic groups have been living side by side for centuries, and share many cultural and economic characteristics.

The people who speak Pashto call themselves Pashtuns (pronounced [pashtúnz])[1]. In Pakistan and India, they are referred to as Pathans; (pronounced [patánz]) by non-Pashtuns. Other ethnic groups, including westerners, have traditionally called Pashtuns Afghans; when King Ahmad Shah established a political state in the 1700's, he called it Afghanistan - the country of the Afghans, i.e., Pashtuns. It is only in the last fifty years or so that the term Afghan has come to refer to any resident of Afghanistan, regardless of ethnic background. Now, the term *Pashtun* seems to have been adopted by westerners (although Pashtuns in Pakistan are still called Pathans). When the notion is discussed of an independent Pashtun state, for example, the state is usually called Pashtunistan.

Pashtuns figure prominently in the history of the British Empire in India. They occupied and dominated the Northwest Frontier area, which was then the northernmost boundary of the British holdings in India. The British spent years trying not very successfully to bring the "Afghans" into some sort of governable order. Nineteenth century British attitudes towards Pashtuns are reflected in a number of books, grammars and government reports, and alternate between extreme exasperation and reluctant admiration and affection. An example of the exasperation can be seen in an 1861 article in the *Army and Navy Gazette*: "Afghan chiefs were able to talk treason in Pashto before the noses of our generals, while assuring them of their fidelity in .... Persian." An example of the admiration can be seen in the first sentences of the introduction to Sir Olaf Caroe's *The Pathans*:

> "There is a strange fascination in living among the Pathans...One secret of the hold of the North-West Frontier is to be sought in the tremendous scenic canvas

---

[1] Words in square brackets represent transcriptions of pronunciation. There is a detailed explanation of the transcription system used in this Grammar in Chapter 2. In English spelling, *Pashtun* would be approximately *pahshtoon*, and *Pathan* would be approximately *pahtahn*. The stress is on the last syllable in both words.

> against which the Pathan plays out his life, a canvas brought into vivid relief by sharp, cruel changes of climate. Sometimes the assault on the spirit is that of stark ugliness and discomfort - appalling heat, a dust-storm across the Peshawar plain, the eroded foot-hills of Khaibar or Waziristan; more often it is an impression of beauty indescribable in its clarity and contrast with the barren emptiness that went before. The weft and warp of this tapestry is woven into the souls and bodies of the men who move before it...." (p. xv)

Pashtun society is basically tribal. There are well over a hundred tribes, each with its own name and lineage, the latter usually traced to a mythical ancestor. Tribes are located and/or have power in particular areas--British records frequently refer to one or the other of the tribes providing opposition to British ambitions in an area. Most Pashtuns are highly conscious of their tribal affiliation, although many who have migrated to Kabul and Herat have become "detribalized", having lost their ties to their tribes. Many of these ethnic Pashtuns no longer speak Pashto, although they identify themselves as Pashtuns. Such Pashtuns in Afghanistan speak Dari; those in Pakistan speak Urdu or Beluchi.

Pashtun society is characterized by what westerners call the Pashtunwali, an unwritten but nonetheless powerful code of ethics which emphasizes hospitality, revenge, and honor. Overlying the Pashtunwali is Islam: Pashtuns in general are among the more conservative Sunni Moslems, and since the Soviet occupation in the 1980's, the Islamic fundamentalist movement that has established itself in other Islamic countries has gained a strong foothold among the Pashtuns as well.

Traditionally, such education as Pashtuns received was provided by mosques, and was confined to teaching of the *Koran* (in Arabic) and related subjects. In the years before the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, various governments had started a basic public education system, and at least primary education gradually became available to rural as well as urban Pashtuns. Progress was brought to a halt, however, by response to the Soviet attempts to "Sovietize" the educational system, and whatever was left of it was completely destroyed by fighting among the factions struggling for control after the Soviets left Afghanistan in 1989.

The literacy rate among Afghan Pashtuns has always been very low (about 5% according to the best available estimates), and the destruction of the educational system will undoubtedly result in even lower rates for the foreseeable future.

Below are listed the most extensive general descriptions of the Pashtuns and of Afghanistan. *National Geographic* articles on Afghanistan and Pakistan are also recommended as vivid introductions to the people and the land they occupy. For a more extensive bibliography of works on Afghanistan, see the article 'Afghanistan' on pp. 25-36 of Vol. 13, *The Encyclopedia Britannica* (15th edition, 1994).

Caroe, Sir Olaf. *The Pathans 550 B.C. - A.D. 1957. With an epilogue on Russia by the Author.* Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Dupree, Louis. *Afghanistan.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980.

Nyrop, Richard F. and Donald M. Seekins. *Afghanistan, A Country Study,* 5th ed. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983.

B. The Language

Its name. For a variety of reasons, the name of the Pashto language has been spelled in several ways. One reason is that the middle consonant (the [sh]) is a sound that differs from one dialect to the other. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, speakers of the Kandahar dialect pronounce the word with a [sh]-like middle consonant, and speakers of the central and eastern dialects pronounce it with a sound similar to German *ch* or Greek *x*. .

The second reason for the variety in rendering of the word *Pashto* is that there has never been a standardized transliteration[1] system for rendering the language in a roman alphabet, and so writers dealing with the language are free to transliterate as they choose. In the West, the *Pashto* spelling seems to have taken hold (the Voice of America has a Pashto Service, and the BBC has a Pashto Program) although *Pushtu* is a commonly seen variant.

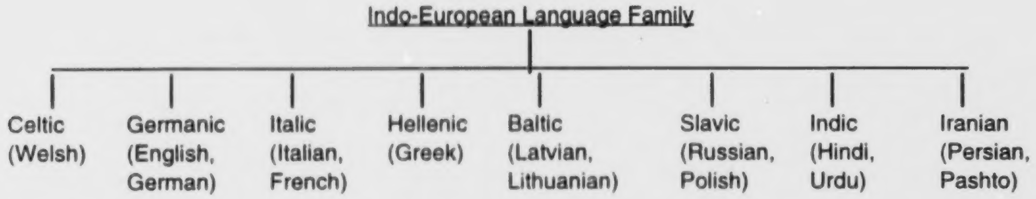
A look at earlier books and reports on the Pashtuns shows more diversity in the representation of the name. H. W. Bellew's 1867 grammar of Pashto, for example, is called *A Grammar of the Pukkhto or Pukshto Language* (the underlining is Bellew's),and Bellew spells the language as *Pukkhto* throughout, with the *kkh* underlined, presumably to show that it is a multiple-letter rendition of a single sound, or maybe to show that it was a non-English sound. In D. L. R. Lorimer's grammar, published fifty years later, the language name is spelled *Pashtu* .

---

[1] The term *transliteration* refers to the writing of one alphabet in the characters of another, and is different from *transcription*, which refers to the representation of the sounds of a language by means of written symbols. Strictly speaking, the transliteration of the Pashto spelling of *Pashto* into roman characters would be something like *pxtu* (the alphabet does not spell out many of the vowels); the transcription of the word *Pashto* is, in the system used in this Grammar, [paxtó].

Its ancestry. Pashto belongs to the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family of languages. Its closest major relatives are Persian, Kurdish, Beluchi, Tajik, and Ossetian, all languages are spoken in the area around Afghanistan.

As an Indo-European language, Pashto is distantly related to English, as can be seen in the following diagram, which includes the major branches of the family and one or two well-known languages belonging to each branch:


Indo-European Language Family
Celtic (Welsh)
Germanic (English, German)
Italic (Italian, French)
Hellenic (Greek)
Baltic (Latvian, Lithuanian)
Slavic (Russian, Polish)
Indic (Hindi, Urdu)
Iranian (Persian, Pashto)

Despite the fact that it is written with a variant of the Arabic alphabet and uses a number of Arabic words, Pashto is not related to Arabic. It is also not related to the Turkic languages, two of which (Uzbek and Turkmen) are spoken in Afghanistan.

Pashto appears to be the most conservative of the Iranian languages, in that it has preserved archaic elements that the other languages have lost. One of these elements is the distinctive ergative construction described in Chapter 11, which has been lost to a great extent in the other Iranian languages. Another element retained by Pashto is a gender system in nouns: Pashto has masculine and feminine nouns, whereas nouns in the other Iranian languages are not differentiated by gender.

Besides retaining archaic elements of the Iranian languages, Pashto shares some characteristics with the Indic languages spoken to the south, most notably the retroflex consonants, which are present in the Indic but not in the Iranian languages.

Pashto shares great numbers of words with Dari, not only because the languages are related, but also because Pashtuns and Dari speakers have been neighbors for centuries, and more recently have been citizens of the same country. Both Pashto and Dari also have numbers of words in common which have been borrowed from Arabic.

Its social status. While Pashto is a national language of Afghanistan, it is second in social prestige to Dari, which as we mentioned above is a dialect of Persian. Before the Soviet occupation, there were attempts to "equalize" Pashto: Dari-speaking children were required to study Pashto in the public schools, and Dari-speaking government officials were required to take Pashto classes. These attempts did not result in much change, however; now, as before, any educated Pashtun in Afghanistan speaks Dari, but very few Dari speakers speak Pashto.

In Pakistan, Pashto has no official status: Pathans who receive education do so in Urdu and/or English. As a result of the British presence in the Northwest Frontier Province, however, there are more publishing houses in Pakistan, and, consequently, more Pashto books are published in Peshawar than in Afghanistan.

Its dialects. There are dialects and sub-dialects of Pashto, as there are of any language[2]. These dialects have not been classified or studied to any great extent by western grammarians, and most Pashtuns themselves are sensitive only to the obvious differences in pronunciation and vocabulary.

There are three major dialects of Pashto: the Kandahar or western dialect, the Kabul or central dialect, and the Ningrahar or eastern dialect[3]. Speakers of the Kandahar dialect live mostly in southwest Afghanistan and in Beluchistan. The Khattak tribe living in Quhat - the tribe that effectively established the Pashto literary tradition - speaks Kandahar Pashto, and the neighboring Waziris have some of the Kandahar characteristics in their dialect, notably the same set of retroflex consonants. Speakers of the central, or Kabul, dialect, live mostly in the Kabul, Logar, Ghazni and Parwan provinces. Speakers of the eastern, or Ningrahar dialect, live in the northeast sections of Afghanistan, and in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan.

Differences among these dialects are largely in pronunciation, the details of which will be discussed in Chapter 2. The Kandahar and Kabul dialects (spoken in

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[2] We are using the term 'dialect' in its technical sense, i.e. to refer to variations of the language that arise mostly through geographical or historical isolation. Note that in this sense, no one dialect of another is considered to be 'better' in some absolute sense, although it is often the case that one dialect may carry more social prestige than another.

[3] You will frequently encounter the adjectival forms of the city names--Kandahari, Kabuli, and Ningrahari-- in referring to the inhabitants of the cities, and in such phrases as 'the Kandahari dialect' or 'Kabuli customs'.

Afghanistan) are most likely to borrow vocabulary from Persian, whereas the Eastern dialect (spoken mostly in Pakistan) is more likely to borrow vocabulary from Urdu and English. Sophisticated Pashtuns have large passive vocabularies of words from other dialects, i.e. they know a good many words on hearing them, but do not use them in their own speech.

The dialectal differences among these major dialect groups of Pashto are relatively minor: speakers of most dialects of Pashto are readily understood by almost all speakers of other dialects, except for Pashtuns located in isolated areas who might have trouble understanding and being understood by Pashtuns from distant areas. Two of these isolated dialects have attracted attention and some study: the Waziri dialect spoken on the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the Wardak dialect spoken in Kabul province, have been observed to differ markedly from the other dialects.

By and large, each Pashtun considers his own dialect to be the 'normal' way to speak Pashto, although the Kandahar dialect enjoys the most prestige (at least among the Kandaharis), and serves as the basis for the writing system. However, as the 19th-century British soldier and grammarian D. L. R. Lorimer observed:

> '... Many an Afridi or Shinwari [tribes then located in the Northwest Frontier Province] phrase or pronunciation will incur the contempt of the Peshawar Munshi [a Pashtun teacher of the British troops in Peshawar] as a solecism or a boorishness, while to the countryman the Munshi's speech will seem foreign, womanish, and mincing.'

It is highly probable that one tribe's opinion of another's dialect of Pashto reflected, and still reflects, the tribe's general opinion of the other.

Its standardization. Pashto is not standardized in the way that English or most of the European languages are. There is, in other words, no universal agreement among Pashto speakers as to what constitutes 'correct' Pashto, either oral or written. Standardization arises from a high level of literacy or from a long-standing grammatical tradition, neither of which Pashto has. English speakers, for example, are accustomed to the notion that there are universally-accepted rules for spelling and punctuation, and consider that writers who do not follow these rules are uneducated. Pashto speakers, on the other hand, have no set of rules to go by, and many of them (in Pakistan especially) have never had formal instruction in Pashto.

One of the results of this lack of standardization is that individual Pashtun writers vary widely in spelling and punctuation. Words are frequently spelled differently, not only from one writer to another, but often by the same writer, and even within the same document. Even such matters as spacing between words are not consistent. This variation does not pose much of a problem to native speakers (highly literate Pashtuns are so accustomed to dealing with the variation that they do not even notice it) but it is a major challenge to learners of the language and non-native speaking readers. It is important to remember that although many Pashto texts are by writers who have only a few years of formal schooling, lack of consistency in spelling and punctuation does not always reflect lack of education or sophistication on the part of the writer: it is as often a reflection of the lack of standardization in the language.

Another challenge to learners of the language is that Pashto writing in newspapers and magazines is frequently written by non-native speakers, and is liable to contain 'real' errors, similar in kind to such errors as *He are here* in English. Also, Pashto newspaper and magazine articles are likely to be translated from Dari or Urdu, and the translated sentences often bear more resemblance to the original language than they do to Pashto. Finally, typesetters are usually not native Pashto speakers, and therefore cannot verify the correctness of their own typesetting.

In the years before the Russian invasion in 1979, there attempts to establish standards for Pashto. For example, the Pashto Academy was established in Kabul in the 1930's by King Zaher, in an effort to develop Pashto so that it could be used as the medium of instruction in schools and the language spoken in government offices. Members of the Pashto Academy engaged in a variety of activities: they developed dictionaries, printed the works of Pashtun poets, conducted research in the social sciences, and translated works (mostly from Arabic, Urdu, and English). They also developed recommendations for spelling and punctuation, many of which are now followed by Pashtun writers. An example of one of these recommendations is the spelling of retroflex [ṇ] as ڼ rather than نړ.

A parallel Pashto Academy began in Peshawar in the 1950's, for the purposes of developing the Pashto spoken in Pakistan, engaging in and publishing research on the language, and translating important and interesting works into Pashto. Recently, the publications of the Peshawar academy have reflected the standardizations recommended by the Kabul academy, although in general, written Pakistani Pashto tends to reflect influences from English and Urdu.

History of its study. As we mentioned above, Pashto does not have a grammatical tradition. Such traditions are a result of interest on the part of a language's speakers in grammar in general, and the grammar or structure of their language in particular. English and the major European languages have long grammatical traditions, as does Arabic, and such traditions have yielded widespread agreement on matters like the number of noun classes, the names of tenses, and even whether a set of verbs is merely irregular or constitutes a special class. These agreements have been arrived at through articles and books that have proposed analyses, arguments against the proposed analyses, re-analyses and continuing arguments until eventually a consensus is reached. Pashto grammatical studies are still in their infancy, and consensus has not been reached on any but the most obvious elements of Pashto grammar.

Despite a long literary tradition, Pashtuns themselves have not been widely interested in the grammar of their language. During the nineteenth century, however, when Russia and Great Britain both had political and territorial interests in the Pashto-speaking area, soldiers and administrators on both sides found it necessary to deal with Pashtuns and to learn Pashto. There are, correspondingly, a number of grammars of Pashto written in Russian and English dating from this period. These vary greatly in quality and accuracy, depending on the amount of Pashto learned by their authors, their authors' general educational and linguistic backgrounds, and the sophistication of the Pashtuns who served as the authors' consultants on the language. The most interesting of the Pashto grammars in English is Lorimer's *Pashtu: Part 1*[4] (a sentence from its preface is quoted above), which describes the spoken language. Lorimer's analyses are reminiscent of Latin grammar, but are still valuable: his transcription system accurately reflects the pronunciation of his Pashtun consultants, and his analyses show great insight into the language.

After India's independence and the end of the rivalry between Britain and Russia, political interest in the Pashtuns waned. With it the need for foreigners to speak Pashto lessened, and western interest in grammatical aspects of the language diminished. At the same time, the academies mentioned above focused their limited resources on matters more crucial than grammatical study, in particular issues of spelling standardization and dictionary development. After the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, there was renewed political interest in the Pashtuns on the part of western powers, and therefore a resumption of interest in Pashto. Included in the results of that interest are several Pashto-Russian dictionaries and grammatical sketches, and the reference grammar you are holding in your hands.

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[4] Part 2 was unfortunately never completed.

Below are listed the most readily available or interesting general grammatical studies of Pashto in English. Most of the early British grammars have been reprinted, and are available in bookstores in Pakistan.

Lorimer, D. L. R. 1915. *Pashtu Part I: Syntax of colloquial Pashtu, with chapters on the Persian and Indian elements in the modern language.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Penzl, Herbert. 1955. *A grammar of Pashto: A descriptive study of the dialect of Kandahar, Afghanistan.* Program in Oriental Languages, Publications Series B - Aids - Number 2. Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies.

Mackenzie, D.N. 1987. 'Pashto'. In *The World's Major Languages,* Bernard Comrie, ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Shafeev, D. A. 1964. *A Short Grammatical Outline of Pashto.* Translated from the Russian by Herbert H. Paper. The Hague: Mouton & Co.

Chapter 2: Pronunciation

A. Introduction

In this chapter, we will describe the consonants and vowels of the central dialect, and the ways in which these sounds may combine to form words. We will also describe the ways that the Kandahar and Ningrahar dialects of Pashto differ from the central dialect. Each example is given with its Pashto spelling, its transcription in square brackets, and its English translation or gloss, in single quote marks, as in the following example: 'grandfather' [bābā́] بابا.

The transcription shows the stress in words of more than one syllable, by means of the symbol ´ placed over the vowel of the stressed syllable. The roman symbols that are used to represent the Pashto sounds in the transcriptions have been chosen to make them easier for the English-speaking student of Pashto to remember. Although most symbols represent one and only one Pashto sound, sometimes a double symbol represents a single sound (for example [ch], [dz], [ts], and [sh]) in order to minimize the use of unfamiliar symbols. Because the English spelling system has only five vowel symbols, and Pashto has nine vowels, representation of the vowel system requires the use of unfamiliar symbols [ə], [ɪ], [ā], and [u] in addition to the familiar [a], [e], [i], [o], and [u].

B. Consonants

We will first discuss the consonants of Pashto from the point of view of the English speaker, and after that discuss their phonological characteristics in more technical terms.

There are thirty-two consonants in the Central dialect. They are grouped below according to their resemblance to English consonants, with the retroflex consonants listed separately.

Consonants similar to English consonants

[b] as in *boy, cub* : 'other' [bəl] بل, 'grandfather' [bābā́] بابا

[ch] as in *church, teacher* : 'where' [chéra] چېره, 'left' [chap] چپ

[dz] as in *dads, adze* : 'self' [dzān] ځان, 'place' [dzāy] ځای

[f] as in *fire, if* : 'break' [tafrí] تفریح, 'pronunciation' [talafúz] تلفظ

[g] as in *go, jug* : 'tall' [jəg] جګ, 'flower' [gwəl] ګل

[h] as in *hat, behave* : 'nine' [náhə] نهه, 'also' [həm] هم

[j] as in *judge, edge*: 'good' [joṛ] جوړ, 'war' [jang] جنګ

[k] as in *car, cake*: 'work' [kār] کار, 'house' [kor] کور

[m] as in *mom, bump*: 'mother' [mor] مور, 'hello' [salā̃m] سلام

[p] as in *pie, apple*: 'curtain' [pardá] پرده, 'left' [chap] چپ

[s] as in *so, city*: 'hand' [lās] لاس, 'red' [sur] سور

[sh] as in *show, push* : 'six' [shpag] شپږ, 'twenty' [shəl] شل

[ts] as in *cuts, gutsy*: 'how many' [tso] څو, 'how' [tsə́nga] څنګه

[w] as in *wait, kiwi* : 'say' [wə́wāya] ووایه, 'open' [wā̃za] وازه

[y] as in *yes, boy*: 'one' [yaw] یو, 'God' [khwdā̃y] خدای

[z] as in *as, zero*: 'son' [zoy] زوی, 'lion' [zmaráy] زمری

Consonants somewhat different from English consonants

[t]: 'thank' [tashakúr] تشکر, 'eight' [atá] اته

[d]: 'this' [da] دا, 'three' [dre] دري

[l]: 'hand' [lās] لاس, 'here' [də́lta] دلته

[n]: 'not' [nə] نه , 'field' [karwandá] کرونده

Consonants very different from English consonants

[gh]: 'Afghan' [afghán] افغان, 'that' [aghá] هغه

[ɦ]: 'March-April' [ɦamál] حمل, 'dear' [ɦabíb] حبیب

[kh]: 'time' [wakht] وخت, 'God' [khwdā̃y] خدای

[q]: 'trunk' [sandúq] صندق 'minute' [daqiqá] دقیقه

[r]: 'where' [chéra] چېره , 'thank' [tashakúr] تشکر

[x]: 'good' [xa] ښه, 'Pashto' [paxtó] پښتو

[ʔ]: 'wisdom' [ʔáqəl] عقل, 'without study' [be ʔamála] بي عمله

Retroflex consonants

[ṭ]: 'all' [ṭol] ټول, 'car' [moṭár] موټر

[ḍ]: 'very' [ḍer] ډېر, 'bread' [ḍoḍə́y] ډوډۍ

[ṇ]: 'daughters' [lúṇe] لوڼي, 'apple' [maṇá] مڼه

[ṛ]: 'tired' [stáṛay] ستړی, 'children' [wāṛə́] واړه

Technical description of consonants. The chart below presents the consonants in a format familiar to phoneticists and linguists. The terms across the top of the chart - bilabial, dental, velar, etc. - refer to the place in the mouth where the sound is made. The terms down the left side of the chart - stops, fricatives, etc. - refer to the type of sound.[1] The chart is followed by a technical description of each consonant.

	Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal
Stops							
Voiceless	p	t		ṭ	k	q	?
Voiced	b	d		ḍ	g		
Nasals	m	n		ṇ	ng		
Fricatives							
Voiceless	f	s	sh, x		kh		ħ h
Voiced		z			gh		?
Affricates							
Voiceless		ts	ch				
Voiced		dz	j				
Others							
Voiceless		l					
Voiced	w	r	y	ṛ			

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[1] For an explanation of the terms used here, see a general introduction to phonetics or phonology such as Peter Ladefoged's *A Course in Phonetics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Technical descriptions:

[p]: voiceless bilabial stop.

[b]: voiced bilabial stop.

[t]: voiceless dental stop.

[d]: voiced dental stop.

[ṭ]: voiceless retroflex stop.

[ḍ]: voiced retroflex stop.

[k]: voiceless velar stop.

[g]: voiced velar stop. Some Central dialect [g]'s - those spelled with the letter ږ - are pronounced differently in other dialects.

[q]: voiced aspirated uvular stop, like [q] ق in Arabic. [q] influences the sound quality of vowels coming before or after it. [q] occurs only in borrowed words.

[ʔ]: glottal stop.

[m]: voiced bilabial nasal.

[n]: voiced dental nasal.

[ṇ]: voiced retroflex nasal. [ṇ] does not occur at the beginnings of words.

[ng]: voiced velar nasal, as in English *hanger* but not *finger*.

[f]: voiceless labio-dental fricative. [f] occurs only in borrowed words, and is frequently replaced by [p] in informal or uneducated speech. The ability to pronounce [f] is a mark of erudition among Pashtuns. Educated Pashto speakers therefore occasionally 'hypercorrect', pronouncing even ordinary [p] as [f].

[s]: voiceless dental fricative.

[z]: voiced dental fricative. Some central dialect [z]'s - those that are spelled with the letter ز - are pronounced differently in other Pashto dialects.

[sh]: voiceless palatal fricative.

[x]: voiceless palatal (or front velar) fricative. Other dialects have different sounds where the central dialect has [x].

[kh]: voiceless velar fricative, similar to German *ch*. [kh] also occurs in Persian and Arabic.

[gh]: voiced velar fricative, like Persian or Arabic [gh].

[h]: voiceless glottal fricative. [h] occurs only at the beginnings of words or syllables.

[ħ]: voiceless pharyngeal fricative, occurring in borrowed words only.

[ʕ]: voiced pharyngeal fricative, occuring in borrowed words only.

[ts]: voiceless dental affricate.
[dz]: voiced dental affricate.
[ch]: voiceless palatal affricate.
[j]: voiced palatal affricate.
[l]: voiced dental lateral.
[r]: voiced dental tap or trill.
[ṛ]: voiced retroflex flap.
[w]: voiced bilabial semi-vowel, the consonantal form of [u].
[y]: voiced palatal semi-vowel, the consonantal form of [i].

Non-native Pashto consonants. The sounds [f], [q], [ĥ] and [ʔ] are not native Pashto sounds. They occur in words borrowed mostly from Arabic and Persian, but also in words borrowed from other languages as well. In the informal speech of educated Pashtuns, and in formal and informal speech of uneducated Pashtuns, [f] is pronounced as [p], [q] is pronounced as [k] (although Pashtuns growing up in areas where there is extensive interaction with Dari speakers will often have [q] exclusively in the relevant words), and [ĥ] and [ʔ] are dropped altogether. Some examples:

		Educated, formal pronunciation:	Uneducated, informal pronunciation
[f]:	'crop' فصل	[fásəl]	[pásəl]
	'Farsi' فارسی	[fārsī]	[pārsī]
	'difference' فرق	[farq]	[parq]
[q]:	'unity' اتفاق	[itifā́q]	[itipā́k]
	'progress' ترقی	[taraqī]	[tarakī]
	'demand' تقاضا	[taqā́zā]	[takā́zā]
[ĥ]:	'even' حتی	[ĥátā]	[átā]
	'government' حکومت	[ĥukumát]	[ukumát]
	'slaughtered' حلالول	[ĥalālawə́l]	[alālawə́l]
[ʔ]:	'public' عام	[ʔām]	[ām]
	'Arab' عرب	[ʔaráb]	[aráb]
	'modern' عصری	[ʔasrī]	[asrī]
	'region' علاقه	[ʔalaqá]	[alāqá]

The dental consonants. Sounds that are slightly different from their English counterparts include the dental consonants [t], [d], [n], [ts], and [dz]. These sounds are pronounced with the tongue touching the back of the front teeth (hence the name 'dental'), as opposed to their English counterparts which are pronounced with the tongue touching the alveolar ridge (the roof of the mouth just behind the front teeth). Many languages have dental rather than alveolar segments, including Spanish and Turkish.

The retroflex consonants. The retroflex consonants in Pashto are particularly interesting to linguists, mainly because Pashto is the only one of the Iranian languages to have retroflex consonants, and because Pashto has these sounds in common with neighboring but only distantly related languages spoken to the south, mainly Urdu.

Retroflex consonants are pronounced with the tongue curled up and back from its usual position in the mouth (*retro* means 'back' and *flex* means 'bend' or 'curve'). Retroflex consonants are common in the South Asian languages; it is mostly the pronunciation of English [t] and [d] as their retroflex counterparts that makes Indian English readily identifiable as such.

Speakers of these languages hear English [t], [d] and other alveolar consonants as closer to their retroflex than to their dental consonants, and as a consequence English borrowings with alveolar consonants are pronounced with retroflex consonants. Hence the existence in Pashto of:

'road' [roḍ] روډ
'dollar' [ḍālár] ډالر
'male doctor' [ḍākṭár] ډاکټر
'deputy' [ḍepṭí] ډيپټی

C. Vowels

The central dialect of Pashto has nine vowels. Below is a list with English equivalents.

[a] as in *ask, glass* , or close to Midwestern English *got, box*: 'is' [da] ده,
'pronunciation' [talafúz] تلفظ

[ā] as in *awful, caught* : 'hand' [lās] لاس, 'you' [tā́se] تاسي

[e] as in *bed, yellow* : 'this' [de] دي, 'me' [me] مي

[ɪ] as in *sit, rift* : 'repeat' [tɪkrā́r] تکرار, 'spell' [spɪl] سپل

[i] as in *beet, feat* : 'go' [dzi] ځی, 'are' [di] دی

[o] as in *boat, so* : 'Pashto' [paxtó] پښتو, 'loan' [por] پور

[u] as in *boot, fool* : 'street' [kutsə́] کوڅه, 'hands' [lāsúna] لاسونه

[ʊ] as in *put, book* : 'please' [lʊ́tfan] لطفا, 'quiet' [chʊp] چپ

[ə] as in *but, just* : 'not' [nə] نه, 'tall' [jəg] جګ

Technical description of vowels. In the chart below, the vowels are presented in a format familiar to phoneticists and linguists. The terms across the top of the chart refer to the position of the tongue from front to back in the mouth; the terms down the left side refer to the position of the tongue from top to bottom and the position of the upper and lower jaws (closer together for the higher vowels, farther apart for the lower vowels). The categories 'rounded' and 'unrounded' refer to the position of the lips.

	Front (unrounded)	Central (unrounded)	Back (rounded)
High	i ɪ		u ʊ
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	ā

Technical descriptions:

[i]: high front tense unrounded vowel.
[ɪ]: high front lax unrounded vowel.
[e]: mid front unrounded vowel.
[ə]: mid central lax unrounded vowel (the symbol is called 'schwa').
[a]: low central unrounded vowel.
[ā]: low back rounded vowel.
[o]: mid back rounded vowel.
[u]: high back tense rounded vowel.
[ʊ]: high back lax rounded vowel.

Notes on the vowels. Not all of the vowels occur everywhere in words. [ɪ] , [o], [e] and [u] do not occur at the beginnings of native Pashto words, but at the beginnings of borrowed words only, for example 'agency' [eyjansáy] ايجنسئ.

The vowel [a] is often pronounced as [ə] in unstressed syllables.

In all dialects, but particularly the western dialect, [e] and [o] frequently become [i] and [u] respectively if a following vowel is [i] or [u] , for example 'I do' [kégəm] کېږم as opposed to 'he does' [kégi] or [kígi] کېږي.

Diphthongs. Some of the vowels listed above occur followed by [w] or [y]. In many languages (like English), such combinations are called diphthongs, and function like vowels. In Pashto, however, it is simpler to consider [y] and [w] as consonants. The more frequently-occurring vowel + [y]/[w] combinations are listed below.

[ey]: as in English *play*, spelled with the letter ې

'placket' [greywā̃n] گرېوان

'peg' [meykh] مېخ

'sigh' [asweyláy] اسوېلی

[əy]: no parallel in most dialects of American English. Grammatical endings involving [əy] are spelled with the letters ۍ and ئ. [əy] occurs only at the ends of words.

'edge' [zəy] ږۍ

'tail' [lákəy] لکۍ

'you all are' [yā̃stəy] یاستئ

[ay]: like English *bite, fly*.

'buyer' [akhistúnkay] اخستونکی

'summer' [wóṛay] اوړی

'mirror' [ayná] اینه

'success' [baryālaytób] بریالیتوب

'plant' [búṭay] بوټی

[ā̃y]: no English equivalent.

'God' [khwdā̃y] خدای

'place' [dzā̃y] ځای

[uy]: like English *phooey*, *Huey*.

'smell' [buy] بوی

'nature' [khuy] خوی

'they, them' [duy] دوی

[aw]: like English *bow*, *frown*

'taste' [zawq] ذوق

'and' [aw] او

'dig' [ghawchawə́l] غوچول

'army' [pawdz] پوځ

'November-December' [qaws] قوس

'nation' [qawm] قوم

D. Syllable Structure

Pashto syllables consist of at least a vowel, with as many as three consonants before, and up to two consonants after. Using the symbol C to represent a consonant, and V to represent a vowel, the following syllable structures are possible in principle:

V	VC	VCC
CV	CVC	CVCC
CCV	CCVC	CCVCC
CCCV	CCCVC	CCCVCC

As in all languages, there are restrictions as to which consonants and vowels can occur in various types of Pashto syllables. The consonant [h], for example, occurs only at the beginnings of syllables; retroflex [ṇ], the diphthong [əy], and the sounds represented by the letter ږ occur only at the ends of syllables.

Two-consonant Clusters. Pashto is remarkable for the number of different consonant clusters that can begin syllables. English, for example, has about thirty-five allowable combinations of consonants; Pashto has close to a hundred.

The most common of these consonant clusters are given below, in English alphabetical order.[2]

[br]: 'glory' [bram] برم, 'attack' [brid] برید, 'seems' [bréxi] بربښی

[bṛ]: 'quilt' [bṛastán] بړستن, 'pouting' [bṛus] بړوس

[by]: 'then' [byā] بیا, 'takes' [byāyi] بیایی, 'scissors' [byātí] بیاتي

[dr]: 'right?' [drast?] درست ؟, 'respect' [dranə́xt] درنښت,
'falsehood [drogh] دروغ

[dw]: 'both' [dwāṛa] دواړه, 'two' [dwa] دوه, 'praying ' [dwā] دوا

[dzgh]: 'operates' [dzghəlawí] څغلوی, 'endurance' [dzghamə́l] څغمل

[dzm]: 'farm' [dzmə́ka] څمکه, 'our' [dzmung] څمونګ

[dzw]: 'young' [dzwān] څوان, 'hanging' [dzwaṛánd] څوړند, 'slope' [dzwar] څور

[gr]: 'inflation' [grāní] ګرانی, 'dear' [grān] ګران, 'placket' [greywān] ګرېوان

[gṛ]: 'fast' [gṛandáy] ګړندی, 'mucus' [gṛəng] ګړنګ, 'roar' [gṛazā] ګړزا

[gw]: 'finger' [gwə́ta] ګوته, 'brown sugar' [gwə́ṛa] ګوړه, 'gather' [gwándza] ګونځه

[ghl]: 'theft' [ghlā] غلا, 'thief (feminine)' [ghla] غله

[kl]: 'hard' [klak] کلك, 'string' [klech] کلېچ

[kr]: 'fare' [krāyá] کرایه, 'hard' [krāṛ] کراړ

[kṛ]: 'clutch (in a car)' [kṛach] کړچ, 'bent' [kṛup] کړوپ

[kw]: 'piled' [kwə́ṭa] کوټه, 'widow' [kwánḍa] کونډه

[khp]: 'own' [khpəl] خپل, 'independence' [khpəlwākí]خپلواکی,
'spread' [khpor] خپور

[khw]: 'direction' [khwā] خوا, 'food' [khwāṛə́] خواړه,
'move' [khwadzégi] خوځېږی

[lm]: 'respect' [lmāndzə́l] لمانځل, 'sun' [lmar] لمر

[lw]: 'high' [lwaṛ] لوړ, 'is studying' [lwáli] لولی

[my]: 'month' [myāst] میاشت, 'Mikhel (tribe)' [myākhél] میاخیل

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[2] Remember that [ts], [dz], [ch], [sh], zh], [gh] and [kh] are considered single consonants: [shkh], for example, is a cluster of just two consonants. Remember also that [y] and [w] are considered consonants.

[mr]: 'pepper' [mrəch] مرچ, 'help' [mrásta] مرسته

[mṛ]: 'faded' [mṛā̆way] مړاوی, 'death' [mṛína] مړینه

[ng]: 'daughter-in-law' [ngor] نگور, 'limp' [nguxedə́l] نگوښیدل

[ngh]: 'rolls up' [nghā̆ṛi] نغاړی, 'burner' [ngharáy] نغری

[nm]: 'the East' [nmar khātə́] نمر خاته , 'grandson' [nmasáy] نمسی

[ny]: 'grandmother' [nyā] نیا, 'popular' [nyāzmín] نیازمین, 'intention' [nyat] نیت

[pl]: 'father' [plār] پلار, 'wide' [plán] پلن, 'bridges' [plúna] پلونه

[pr]: 'except' [práta] پرته, 'unfamiliar' [pradáy] پردی, 'lying (on)' [prot] پروت

[pṛ]: 'tiger' [pṛāng] پړانگ, 'spread out' [pṛākh] پړاخ

[py]: 'on foot' [pyādá] پیاده, 'onion' [pyāz] پیاز, 'cup' [pyālá] پیاله

[tl]: 'went' [tlə́l] تلل, 'anniversary' [tlin] تلین

[tr]: 'strong' [traṭə́] ترټه, 'aunt' [tror] ترور, 'bitter' [trikh] تریخ

[sk]: 'charcoal' [skor] سکور, 'pinch' [skunḍə́l] سکونډل

[skh]: 'tight' [skhára] سخره

[sp]: 'soldier ' [spāyí] سپایی, 'insult' [spəkāwáy] سپکاوی, white [spin] سپین

[sr]: 'red (feminine)' [sra] سره, 'glue' [srix] سریښ

[st]: 'star ' [stóray] ستوری, 'tired' [stə́ṛay] ستړی, 'great' [stər] ستر

[sw]: 'burns' [swadzégi]سوځېږی, 'ride' [swarégi] سورېږی

[shk]: 'picks' [shkawí] شکوی, 'basket' [shkor] شکور, 'break' [shkedə́l] شکېدل

[shp]: 'six' [shpag] شپږ, 'night' [shpa] شپه, 'flute' [shpeláy] شپېلۍ

[xk]: 'down' [xkáta] ښکته, 'hunting' [xkār] ښکار, 'appearance' [xkārə́] ښکاره

[wl]: 'curls' [wlúna] ولونه, 'wash' [wləl] ولل, 'went' [wlāṛ] ولاړ

[wr]: 'doors' [wrúna] وروونه, 'nephew' [wrārə́] وراره, 'wedding party' [wrā] ورا

[wṛ]: 'ahead' [wṛā̆nde] وړاندې, 'beforehand' [wṛunbáy] وړونبی, 'carry' [wṛəl] وړل

[zg] : 'moan' [zgerwáy] زگېروی, 'sew' [zgeṛə́l] زگېړل

[zgh]: 'courage' [zghard] زغرد, 'tolerance' [zgham] زغم

[zm]: 'lion' [zmaráy] زمری, 'my' [zmā] زما, 'faded' [zmol] زمول

[zṛ]: 'brave' [zṛawár]زړور, 'heart' [zṛə] زړه

[zy]: 'much' [zyāt] زیات, 'effort' [zyār] زیار, 'harm' [zyān] زیان

[zhm]: 'promise' [zhmə́na] ژمنه, 'comb' [zhməndz] ژمنځ

[zhw]: 'life' [zhwandún] ژوندون, 'life' [zhwāk] ژواك

Other clusters appear, apparently, in only one or two words, but these words are widespread and basic to Pashto, and so the following clusters are added to the list.

[bl]: 'pregnant' [blā́rba] بلاربه

[dy]: 'thirteen' [dyā́rlas] دیارلس

[khy]: 'handsome' [khyalí] خیالی

[ml]: 'waist' [mlā] ملا, 'friend' [mla] مله

[nj]: 'girl' [njəláy] نجلۍ

[rgh]: 'rolls around' [rghə́ṛi] رغړی

[shkh]: 'dispute' [shkhə́ṛa] شخړه

[shm]: 'number' [shmer] شمېر

[tw]: 'ability' [twān] توان

[tsk]: 'drinking' [tskāk] څكاك

[tsw]: 'fourteen' [tswā́rlas] څوارلس

[zb]: 'sucks' [zbéxi] زبېښی

[zd]: 'study!' [zdá kṛa] زده كړه

[zr]: 'mill' [zránda] ژرنده

[zw]: 'life' [zwənd] ژوند

There are yet other clusters which apparently appear only in onomatopoetic words, i.e. words which represent particular sounds. Some examples:

[khṛ]: *slapping sound* [khṛap] خرپ

[tṛ]: *gunshot noise* [tṛaq] ترق

A final note on clusters is that they are frequently broken up with epenthetic vowels, possibly because they are difficult to articulate. The word for 'foot', for example - [pxa] پښه - is also pronounced [pəxá], with an epenthetic [ə] breaking up the consonant cluster.

Three-consonant Clusters. There are some three-consonant clusters at the beginnings of syllables. Like some of the two-consonant clusters, these appear in a handful of words at most.

[khwl]: 'mouth' [khwlə] خوله
[khwd]: 'God' [khwdā̆y] خدای
[ndr]: 'sister-in-law' [ndror] ندرور
[skw]: 'shear' [skwələ́l] سکولل
[skhw]: 'bull' [skhwandár] سخوندر
[shkhw]: 'chewing' [shkhwand] شخوند
[xkw]: 'pretty' [xkwə́lay] ښکلی، 'kisses' [xkwəlawī] ښکلوی

Consonant Clusters at the ends of syllables. As mentioned above, syllables can end in up to two consonants. There are many fewer syllable-final clusters in Pashto than there are syllable-initial, and most of the final ones are in borrowed words, for example [nk] in 'bank' [bank] بنك. The most common clusters appearing in native Pashto words are the following:

[kht]: 'fortune' [bakht] بخت، 'busy' [bokht] بوخت، 'capital' [pāytákht] پایتخت
[nd]: 'blind person' [ṛund] ړوند، 'stack' [də́rmənd] درمند
'obvious' [tsargánd] څرگند
[nḍ]: 'round' [ghwənḍ] غونډ، 'short' [lanḍ] لنډ
[rg]: 'death' [marg] مرگ، 'rooster' [chərg] چرگ
[ṛkh]: 'aspect' [aṛkh] اړخ
[sk]: 'smiling' [məsk] مسك
[st]: 'right?' [drust?] درست ؟، 'skin' [post] پوست، 'month' [myāst] میاشت
[xt]: 'age' [zaṛə́xt] زړښت، 'crop' [kəxt] کښت، 'forty' [tsalwéxt] څلویښت
'generation' [puxt] پښت

Other clusters appearing in borrowed words are the following:

[bz]: 'green' [sar sábz] سر سبز
[fz/wz]: 'promise' [lafz] /[lawz] لفظ
[ks]: 'picture' [aks] عکس

[khs]: 'person' [shakhs] شخص

[mp]: 'refugee camp' [kamp] کمپ

[mz]: 'secret ' [ramz] رمز

[ndz]: 'prayer' [mundz] مونځ, 'middle' [mandz] منځ

[nj]: 'corner' [kwanj] کونج

[nk]: 'bank' [bānk] بانك

[ns]: 'agency' [azháns] اژانس

[nz]: 'comb' [gumánz] ږومنځ

[qsh]: 'painting' [naqsh] نقش

[rd]: 'student' [shāgárd] شاگرد, 'courage' [zghard] زغرد, 'pain' [dard] درد

[rgh]: 'turkey' [pilmúrgh] فیل مرغ

[rm]: 'farm' [fārm] فارم

[rn]: 'century' [qarn] قرن

[rq]: 'east' [sharq] شرق, 'difference' [farq] فرق, 'electricity' [barq] برق

[rs]: 'lesson' [dars] درس

[rt]: 'condition' [shart] شرط, 'thought' [churt] چرت

[rz]: 'petition' [arz] عرض, 'type' [tarz] طرز

[shq]: 'love' [ishq] عشق

[sht]: 'destiny' [sarnawísht] سرنوشت

E. Stress and Intonation

Basic word stress. In every word of more than one syllable, one of the syllables bears heavy stress: it is pronounced with more emphasis and probably with slightly higher pitch than syllables with weaker stress. Pashto is similar to English in this respect: in the previous clause, for example, the stresses on the English words are as follows (heavy stress is marked with the ´ symbol over the vowel):

Páshto símilar Énglish respéct

The location of the heavy stress (whether on the last syllable, the next-to-last, or one of the earlier syllables) is not predictable in Pashto, and the spelling system does not mark stress at all. To ascertain where the heavy stress is in a Pashto word, the non-native speaker must ask a native speaker how to pronounce the word, and then listen for the stressed syllable.

The stress in native Pashto words is generally on the last syllable if the syllable ends in a consonant, and on the next-to-last (penultimate) syllable if the last syllable ends in a vowel, for example:

'sick' (masculine form) [randzúr] رنځور

'sick' (feminine form) [randzúra] رنځوره

There are probably as many exceptions to the rule given above as there are words which follow it, however, including the word for the language: 'Pashto' [paxtó] پښتو.

One of the sources for the exceptions is the number of borrowings in the language. Pashto has borrowed thousands of words from a number of languages, and in many cases the words have been borrowed with the stress patterns of the language from which they have been borrowed. For example, many words ending in [ā] that have been borrowed from Persian are stressed on the last syllable as they are in Persian, for example:

'daddy' [abā́] ابا

'eighty' [atyā́] اتیا

'bus stop' [ɪstādgā́] استادگاه

'friend' [ashnā́] اشنا

There are as many words ending in [ā] borrowed from Arabic, however, which are *not* stressed on the last syllable, for example:

'however' [ámā] اما

'monster' [búbalā] بوبلا

'even' [ĥátā] حتی

The number of borrowings and other factors have resulted in Pashto's having a number of pairs of words which are exactly alike except for stress:

'pear tree' [ṭā́nga] ټانگه	vs.	'cart' [ṭāngá] ټانگه
'mare' [áspa] اسپه	vs.	'spotted fever' [aspá] اسپه
'look!' [góra] گوره	vs.	'fair-skinned' [gorá] گوره
'dive!' [ghuṭá] غوټه	vs.	'knot' [ghúṭa] غوټه
'pair' [joṛá] جوړه	vs.	'well (feminine)' [jóṛa] جوړه
'he's sitting' [kenastə́] کښېناسته	vs.	'he sat' [kénastə] کښېناسته

Stress in affixes. Another source of exceptions to the rule given above is that some affixes automatically carry heavy stress. Pashto has a number of affixes - prefixes, suffixes, and infixes that carry (usually) grammatical information, such as tense, number, gender, and so on. Many of those affixes always carry heavy stress: a word with one of these affixes will be pronounced with the stress on the affix rather than on the root of the word. For example, [-úna] ونه-, one of the masculine plural markers, carries heavy stress; words with this suffix are always stressed on the [u] of the suffix:

'invasion' [yərghál] يرغل	'invasions' [yərghalúna] يرغلونه
'song' [surúd] سرود	'songs' [surudúna] سرودونه
'charm' [afsún] افسون	'charms' [afsunúna] افسونونه
'pomegranate' [anār] انار	'pomegranates' [anārúna] انارونه
'neck' [ormég] اورمېږ	'necks' [ormegúna] اورمېږونه

Sometimes the addition of an affix (like [-úna] ونه-) results in a word that continues to follow the basic rule, but this is not always the case. An example is the suffix [-ég-] -ېږ- that converts nouns and adjectives to verbs, and carries heavy stress, resulting in forms that break the basic rule:

'I'm starting out' [rawānégəm] روانېږم
'You're starting out' [rawānégəy] روانېږی

In following chapters in which affixes are presented and described, those that carry heavy stress will always include the stress mark in the transcription.

In addition to word stress, there are stress patterns in sentences as well, which often have the effect of shifting the heavy stress off a word that would ordinarily receive it. The negative particle [nə́] نه, for example, always carries heavy stress in the sentence. For example:

'He's eating' [khwrí] خوری
'He's not eating' [nə́ khwri] نه خوری

The perfective particle [wə́] و also carries heavy stress, and when both [nə́] نه and [wə́] و occur, they both seem to receive heavy stress:

'I was standing' [daredə́m] درېدم	'I wasn't standing' [nə́daredəm] نه درېدم
'I stood' [wə́daredəm] ودرېدم	'I didn't stand' [wə́nə́daredəm] ونه درېدم

Secondary stresses. Stress patterns in polysyllabic words and in phrases and sentences have not been studied to any great extent, other than to note particles and affixes like [ná] نه and [wá] و, and to comment that there seem to be secondary stresses in Pashto as well as primary stresses. In the 'I stood' example above, for example, the syllable [-ed-] -ېد- has a heavier stress than the final syllable [-əm] -م, but not so heavy as the primary-stressed syllable [wá] و.

There are probably patterns of primary and secondary stresses in multi-syllabic words as well. The first syllable of the multi-syllabic 'buyer' [akhistúnkay] اخستونکی, for example, seems to have heavier stress than either the second or fourth syllables.

Intonation. Intonation - the altering of the pitch at which vowels are pronounced - clearly plays an fundamental part in at least one aspect of Pashto, but, like stress, has not been studied. (Studies of stress and pitch require extensive field work, and typically take place after more fundamental research on the language has been carried out.) It appears that in general, heavily stressed syllables are pronounced with higher pitch than weakly stressed syllables.

An aspect of Pashto in which intonation plays a major role is in question formation. The only difference between Pashto statements and their corresponding yes/no questions is that in the statement the pitch goes down at the end of a sentence, whereas in the question the pitch goes up. English has a parallel way of forming yes/no questions, but it is an alternate to the usual question formation which involves shifts in word order as well as the rise in pitch at the end of the question, for example:

Statement: 'Patang is a doctor.' (⬇)
Normal question: 'Is Patang a doctor?' (⬆)
Alternate form: 'Patang is a doctor?' (⬆)

All Pashto yes/no questions are formed entirely by shifting the intonation pattern:

Statement: 'Patang is a doctor' [patáng ḍākṭár da⬇] پتنګ ډاکټر ده .
Question: 'Is Patang a doctor?' [patáng ḍākṭár da⬆] پتنګ ډاکټر ده ؟

Statement: 'He's not eating.' [ná khwri⬇] نه خوری.
Question: 'Isn't he eating?' [ná khwri⬆] نه خوری؟

F. Major Dialectal Differences

As we mentioned in Chapter 1, not much is known in detail about the pronunciation differences among the various dialects of Pashto, except for major phonological correspondences between the western (Kandahar), central (Kabul) and eastern (Ningrahar) dialect groups. These major correspondences are shown in the table below. ([zh^{r}] is a voiced palatal fricative with the tongue curled back as the sound is pronounced. [sh^{r}] is a voiceless palatal fricative with the tongue curled back as the sound is pronounced.)

Letter	Central pronunciation	Western pronunciation	Eastern pronunciation
ژ	[z]	[zh]	[j]
ږ	[g]	(retroflex) [zh^{r}]	[g]
ښ	[x]	(retroflex) [sh^{r}]	[kh]

Examples:

		Central	Western	Eastern
'moon'	سپوږمی	[spogmáy]	[spozh^{r}máy]	[spogmáy]
'shivers'	رېږدېږی	[regdégi]	[rezh^{r}dézh^{r}i]	[regdégi]
'Pashto'	پښتو	[paxtó]	[pash^{r}tó]	[pakhtó]
'branch'	ښاخ	[xākh]	[sh^{r}ākh]	[khākh]
'truth'	رښتیا	[rixtyā́]	[rish^{r}tyā́]	[rikhtyā́]
'deep'	ژور	[zawár]	[zh^{r}awár]	[jawár]
'wilts'	رژېږی	[razégi]	[razhézh^{r}i]	[rajégi]

The only other correspondence among the major dialects that is described in the literature on Pashto pronunciation is that described by MacKenzie (1987), which involves the pronunciation of the final diphthongs:

Spelling	Central	Western	Eastern
ـی	[ay]	long [e]	[ay]
ـۍ	[əy]	[ey]	[əy]

G. Other Analyses

Penzl (1955) and other earlier descriptions group some of the vowels in pairs of short and long vowels, as follows:

Long:	[i]	[ā]	[u]
Short:	[ɪ]	[a]	[ʊ]

These descriptions are possibly based on those of Pashtun writers who, following the lead of grammarians describing Arabic's short/long vowel system, analyzed Pashto vowels as short and long.

Mackenzie (1987) describes the Pashto sounds from a historical persective, and includes notes on dialectal alternations. His list of sounds, and that of Shafeev (1964) do not differ significantly from the one given here.

There exists a relatively detailed description (but not analysis) of Pashto stress: Jiri Becka's *A Study in Pashto Stress* (Prague: Oriental Institute in Academia, Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1969). Becka discusses stress in the context of the Iranian languages, and gives numerous examples of words and phrases.

Chapter 3: Pashto Words

A. Introduction

Pashto is like other languages in that its speakers use words that are native Pashto, while also using words that have been borrowed from other languages.

The native Pashto words are the most high-frequency, and tend to denote 'basic' human objects and actions, like terms for family and tribe members, words denoting ordinary human activities like eating and working and moving around, plants and animals, words having to do with farming and hunting, and words describing other areas of traditional culture.

Borrowed words are usually associated with aspects of Pashtun life that have arisen from contacts with speakers of other languages: the most obvious of these are words related to Islam, which entered Pashto either through Persian, or directly from Arabic.

The major sources of borrowed vocabulary in Pashto are Persian, including native Persian words and words that Persian itself borrowed from other languages; Urdu, from the Pashtuns' relations with Urdu speakers in Pakistan; and English, from their original involvement with the British in the 19th century, and from the current widespread use of English in the Northwest Frontier Province. Other languages that have contributed words to Pashto are the Turkic and Dardic languages spoken in neighboring areas, or in small pockets in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

B. Pashto's Basic Word Stock and Persian Cognates

As we mentioned in Chapter 1, Pashto and Persian are related, and both are descended (along with the other Iranian languages) from the ancient language called Iranian by historical linguists. The basic native words in both languages have evolved in parallel from a single stock of words in Iranian. The common ancestry of words in modern Persian and Pashto may be seen by comparing the words from each language that denote the same basic elements. Such pairs of words are called cognates: not only do cognates show relationships among languages, they also reveal the ways in which the languages have changed. Note, for example, in the words below, that Pashto frequently has an [l] in words where Persian has a [d]:

Pashto:	'hand' [lās] لاس	Pashto:	'father' [plār] پلار
Persian:	'hand' [dast] دست	Persian:	'father' [padár] پدر
Pashto:	'mother' [mor] مور	Pashto:	'sister' [khor] خور
Persian:	'mother' [mādár] مادر	Persian:	'sister' [khwār] خواهر
Pashto:	'two' [dwa] دوه	Pashto:	'sleeve' [lastóṇay] لستوڼی
Persian:	'two' [du] دو	Persian:	'sleeve' [astín] استین
Pashto:	'day' [wradz] ورځ	Pashto:	'five' [pindzá] پنځه
Persian:	'day' [roz] روز	Persian:	'five' [panj] پنج

C. Borrowings from and through Persian

Besides Pashto/Persian cognates, there are numbers of words in Pashto that have clearly been borrowed from Persian, i.e. Persian words have been learned by Pashto speakers and adapted for use in Pashto. Borrowing is a process that goes on constantly: any tourist who brings home a souvenir and calls it by its name in another language has borrowed a term. Some borrowings become widespread, and become part of the word stock of the language; others fall into disuse.

When a word is borrowed from one language into another, its pronunciation may be restructured to fit the pronunciation patterns of the borrowing language. The Pashto word for car, [moṭár] موټر, for example, is borrowed from English, and its pronunciation has gradually been restructured to resemble native Pashto words: the stress has shifted from the first syllable to the last, and the English [t] is pronounced with Pashto sound perceived to be closest to it, the retroflex [ṭ].

Clear borrowings can sometimes be distinguished from cognates by checking their resemblances: in general, if the word in question is pronounced very similarly to its pronunciation in the language being borrowed from, and if it refers to a cultural item or action that is likely to have been transmitted from one culture to the other, linguists conclude that the word has been borrowed.

The Pashto words below are clear borrowings from Persian:

Pashto:	'kitchen' [āshpazkhānā́] آشپزخانه	Pashto:	'table' [mez] میز
Persian:	'kitchen' [ashpazkhaná] آشپزخانه	Persian:	'table' [mez] میز
Pashto:	'servant' [muzdúr] مزدور	Pashto:	'clerk' [mirzā̆] میرزا
Persian:	'servant' [mazdúr] مزدور	Persian:	'clerk' [mɪrzā̆] میرزا
Pashto:	'garden' [gwəlɪstā̆n] گلستان	Pashto:	'cucumber' [bā̆dráng] بادرنگ
Persian:	'garden' [gulɪstā̆n] گلستان	Persian:	'cucumber' [bā̆dráng] بادرنگ
Pashto:	'chair' [tsawkə́y] څوکۍ	Pashto:	'syrup' [sharbát] شربت
Persian:	'chair' [chawkí] چوکی	Persian:	'syrup' [sharbát] شربت

If the speakers of two related languages have interacted for a long time, it is often difficult to tell whether similar words in the languages are true cognates, i.e. descended from a single word in the ancestor language, or borrowed from one language to the other and restructured. This is the case with Pashto and Persian, and there is correspondingly no way to tell whether pairs like the following are true cognates or examples of borrowing from one language into the other:

Pashto:	'ax' [tábər] تبر	Pashto:	'stick' [koták] کوتك
Persian:	'ax' [tabár] تبر	Persian:	'stick' [kʊták] کتك
Pashto:	'lamp' [tsirā̆gh] څراغ	Pashto:	'rope' [rasə́y] رسۍ
Persian:	'lamp' [chɪrā̆gh] چراغ	Persian:	'rope' [rɪsmā̆n] رسمان
Pashto:	'bush' [búṭay] بوټی	Pashto:	'red' [sur] سور
Persian:	'bush' [butá] بوته	Persian:	'red' [surkh] سرخ

Most of the non-native words in Afghan Pashto are from Persian, reflecting the fact that speakers of the two languages have been neighbors or countrymen for centuries.

Pashto has also borrowed words from Persian that Persian itself had borrowed from some other language. Most of the Pashto words pertaining to education, for example, were borrowed from Arabic through Persian. Some examples are given below:

Pashto:	'school' [maktáb] مکتب
Arabic through Persian:	'school [maktáb] مکتب
Pashto:	'book' [kitāb] کتاب
Arabic through Persian:	'book' [kɪtāb] کتاب
Pashto:	'director' [mudír] مدیر
Arabic through Persian:	'director' [mʊdír] مدیر
Pashto:	'secretary' [munshí] منشی
Arabic through Persian:	'secretary' [mʊnshí] منشی

D. Borrowings directly from Arabic

Some words and phrases concerning Islam have been borrowed directly into Pashto from Arabic, usually with their spelling intact. These words and phrases have a variety of pronunciations, depending on the speaker's familiarity with Arabic (either from devotion to Islam or from extensive education). Some example phrases are:

'great God' [allāh tālā] الله تعالی
'Peace be with you' [asalām āláykum] السلام علیکم
'God knows' [walláhu aʔlám], [walawalám] والله اعلم

Sometimes, even the Arabic plural is borrowed, as in the following:

English	Pashto singular	Arabic plural used	Expected Pashto plural
bonus	[imtiyāz] امتیاز	[imtiyāzāt] امتیازات	[imtiyāzúna] امتیازونه
criticism	[intiqād] انتقاد	[intiqadāt] انتقادات	[intiqadúna] انتقادونه
establishment	[tashkíl] تشکیل	[tashkilāt] تشکیلات	[tashkilúna] تشکیلونه
dignity,	[tāzím] تعظیم	[tāzimāt] تعظیمات	[tāzimúna] تعظیمونه

The use of an Arabic plural indicates that the speaker knows Arabic, a mark of education parallel to an English speaker's use of a Latin plural like *foci*, as opposed to the regular English plural *focuses*.

E. Borrowings from Urdu and English

The Pashto spoken in Pakistan contains more borrowings from Urdu and English than does Afghan Pashto. The English borrowings are through Urdu, which has hundreds of English borrowings as a result of the British presence there in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

A characteristic of English borrowings in both Urdu and Pashto is that English [t] and [d] have been restructured as retroflex [ṭ] and [ḍ]. As was mentioned before, this has to do with the phonetic characteristics of English [t] and [d], which are phonetically halfway between the retroflex [ṭ] and [ḍ] of Urdu and Pashto and their non-retroflex [t] and [d], and are perceived as the retroflex rather than the non-retroflex [t] and [d]. Below are examples of borrowings from these two languages:

Pashto: 'truck' [laráy] لاری
English: *lorry*

Pashto: 'hospital' [aspaṭā́l] هسپتال
English: *hospital*

Pashto: 'machine' [māshín] ماشین
English: *machine*

Pashto: 'jeep' [jip] جیپ
English: *jeep*

Pashto: vest [wāskát] واسکت
English: *waistcoat*

Pashto: 'cassette' [kasít] کست
English: *cassette*

Pashto: 'glove compartment' [ṭulbā́ks] تول بکس
English: *tool box*

Pashto: 'driver's apprentice' [kiliṇár] کیلینر
English: *cleaner* (i.e. one whose job is to wash the car)

Pashto: 'videotape' [weḍeyó] ويډيو
English: *video*

Pashto: kind of candy [mitāyí] ميتهايى
Urdu: kind of candy [mitāyi] متهايى

Pashto: kind of sauce [chakní] چکني
Urdu: 'chutney' [chaṭní] چتني

Pashto: 'coriander' [danyā́] دنيا
Urdu: 'coriander' [danyá] دهنيا

Pashto: 'fence' [kaṭārá] کتهاره
Urdu: 'gallery' [kaṭɪhrá] کتهره

F. Recent Borrowings from English and Russian

The Russian occupation of Afghanistan, the resistance to it, and the formation of refugee camps in Pakistan with their international supervision, all have supplied words borrowed from Russian and English into Pashto, but the occupation was too recent to predict whether the words will remain in the language. Some examples are:

Pashto: 'rifle' [kalɪshinkóv] کلشنکوف
Russian: *Kalishnikov* (type of rifle)

Pashto: 'machine gun' [dashakā́] داشکه
Russian: *Dashaka* (machine gun)

Pashto: [rāshán] راشن
English: *ration*

Pashto: 'launcher' [rakɪt lānchár] راکټ لانچر
English: *rocket launcher*

Pashto: 'missile' [stɪngár] ستنگر
English: *Stinger (ground-to-air missile)*

G. International Words in Pashto

Another source of words in Pashto is the international community, which provides words for modern phenomena that are so widespread it is often impossible to tell which language they originated from. A few examples, with their English translations, are:

'radio' [rādyó] رادیو

'television' [talwezyón] تلوېزیون

'socialism' [sosyālízm] سوسیالزم

'professor' [profaysár] پروفیسر

'police' [polís] پولیس

'pizza' [pitsá] پیڅه

Chapter 4: The Writing System

A. Pashto's Arabic-based Writing System

The Arabic alphabet. Pashto is written with a variation of the Persian alphabet, which is in turn a variation of the Arabic alphabet. Pashto shares the characteristics of all Arabic-based alphabets:

- It is written from right to left, although numbers are written from left to right as they are in roman-alphabet systems, e.g., 5000 is written ٥٠٠٠ rather than ٠٠٠٥.

- There is no upper/lower case distinction among letters.

- Vowels other than [a], [u] , [i] (and [o] in Pashto) are not represented in writing, and even those sounds are not consistently represented. (The system of diacritical marks, which is used to represent Arabic vowels in the *Koran* and for other purposes, is not used in Pashto.)

- The shape of an individual letter varies slightly depending on whether it is in the beginning, middle or final position in the word, and whether the letter preceding it is one that connects with following letters to the left. For example, the letter representing the sound [b] (ب) is one of the letters that connects with following letters. It has the following shapes:

ب when it occurs independently, as in the preceding paragraph, or at the end of a word following a letter that does not connect to the left;
ﺑ when it occurs at the beginning of a word, or after a letter that does not connect to the left;
ﺒ when it occurs after a letter that connects to the left, and before another letter; and
ﺐ when it occurs at the end of a word, after a letter that connects to the left.

In contrast, the letter representing the sound [d]-- د--is one of the letters that does not connect to the left. Its forms are:

د when it occurs independently, or following a letter that does not connect to the left; and
ﺪ when it follows a letter that connects to the left.

Letters peculiar to Pashto. The difference between the Pashto and Arabic alphabets mainly involves the the modification of existing Arabic letters to represent sounds which exist in Pashto but not Arabic. The Pashto alphabet includes letters from the Persian alphabet (representing sounds in that exist in Persian but not Arabic, for example [p] پ and [ch] چ) and additional letters representing sounds that exist in Pashto but not Persian or Arabic. These extra letters are:

[ṭ]	ټ	[zh]	ژ
[ts]	څ	[g]	ږ
[dz]	ځ	[x]	ښ
[ḍ]	ډ	[ṇ]	ڼ
[ṛ]	ړ	[əy]	ۍ and ئ

B. Handwritten, Printed, and Computerized Pashto

Pashtuns share with other users of Arabic alphabets an awareness of the beauty of the alphabet, and beautiful handwriting (for formal occasions) is a cherished accomplishment. Informal handwriting, on the other hand, is usually very difficult for the foreigner to decipher.

The Pashto in books and magazines that have been offset-printed is frequently handwritten; in such cases, the handwriter takes particular care that his handwriting is not only readable, but elegant. Handwritten, offset-printed Pashto is more frequently published in Pakistan than Afghanistan, reflecting both the greater availability of offset printing in Pakistan and the fact that Pashto's status as a national language in Afghanistan guarantees that printing houses will have the capability to typeset Pashto.

In modern times, Arabic alphabets have been computerized, and several software programs are available in the United States for word-processing in Arabic and Persian. Most of these programs do not have fonts which contain the additional characters needed to represent Pashto, but at least one private company sells a set of Pashto fonts. The computer systems in the U.S. government agencies that deal with Afghanistan and Pakistan are also capable of producing Pashto: the Voice of America's Pashto service, for example, produces documents in Pashto with its Xerox computer system.

Books entirely in Pashto are constructed exactly opposite from books in roman alphabets. The are read with their bound edges to the right rather than to the left; pages are turned from left to right, and are numbered accordingly; and the cover, title pages, and other introductory material are in what would be the back of a roman alphabet book, although occasionally the table of contents is at the end of the book rather than after the title page.

C. Pashto Written Literature

The earliest known example of written Pashto is a multilingual book of religious verses. The text, in Pashto and Arabic, dates from the end of the 16th Century, and was written by Bayazid Rushan Ansari, presumably a Pashtun, who founded a sect of Islam and who wrote the book in order to make religious writing available to people in their own language. The Pashto in that text is a stilted, unnatural sort of rhymed prose that reflects a style of Arabic found in the *Koran*.

The earliest Pashto literature was written by the Khattak clan (the foremost writer of which was the pre-eminent 16th-century Pashtun poet Khoshal Khan Khattak), whose adaptations of the Persian alphabet laid the foundations for the modern Pashto spelling system. The Khattaks spoke the Kandahar dialect of Pashto, and the spelling system still reflects the Kandahar dialect more than it does the central or eastern dialects.

D. The Letters in the Pashto Alphabet

The letters of the Pashto alphabet are listed in order in the following chart. After each letter is its name in transcription, the forms it takes (those letters with only two forms are the ones that do not connect to the left; the letters with three forms are those that do connect to the left), the sound or sounds it represents, and numbers referring to comments immediately following the chart.

Letter	Letter Name	Letter Forms	Transcription
ا	[álǝf]	ا[1] ﺎ	[a]
ب	[be]	ﺑ ﺒ ﺐ	[b]
پ	[pe]	ﭘ ﭙ ﭗ	[p]
ت	[te]	ﺗ ﺘ ﺖ	[t]
ټ	[ṭe]	ټـ ـټـ ـټ	[ṭ]
ث	[se]	ﺛ[2] ﺜ ﺚ	[s][3]
ج	[jim]	ﺟ ﺠ ﺞ	[j]

Letter	Letter Name	Letter Forms	Transcription
چ	[che]	چـ ـچـ ـچ	[ch]
ح	[h̊e], [he]	حـ ـحـ ـح	[h̊], [h][3]
خ	[khe]	خـ ـخـ ـخ	[kh]
څ	[tse]	څـ ـڅـ ـڅ	[ts]
ځ	[dze]	ځـ ـځـ ـځ	[dz]
د	[dāl]	د ـد	[d]
ډ	[ḍāl]	ډ ـډ	[ḍ]
ذ	[zāl]	ذ ـذ	[z][3]
ر	[re]	ر ـر	[r]
ړ	[ṛe]	ړ ـړ	[ṛ]
ز	[ze]	ز ـز	[z]
ژ	[zhe]	ژ ـژ	[zh] , [z], [j][4]
ږ	[ge], [zhe]	ږ ـږ	[zh] , [g][4]
س	[sin]	سـ ـسـ ـس	[s]
ش	[shin]	شـ ـشـ ـش	[sh]
ښ	[xin]	ښـ ـښـ ـښ	[x]
ص	[skhwāt]	صـ ـصـ ـص	[s][3]
ض	[skhwāt]	ضـ ـضـ ـض	[z][3]
ط	[tkhwe]	ط ـطـ ـط	[t][3]
ظ	[zghwe]	ظ ـظـ ـظ	[z][3]
ع	[ʔayn], [ayn]	عـ ـعـ ـع	[ʔ], not pronounced[3]
غ	[ghayn]	غـ ـغـ ـغ	[gh]
ف	[fe]	فـ ـفـ ـف	[f]
ق	[qaf]	قـ ـقـ ـق	[q]
ك	[kaf]	کـ ـکـ ـك	[k]
گ	[gāf]	گـ ـگـ ـگ	[g]
ل	[lām]	لـ[5] ـلـ ـل	[l]
م	[mim]	مـ ـمـ ـم	[m]

Letter	Letter Name	Letter Forms	Transcription
ن	[nun]	نـ ـنـ ـن	[n]
ڼ	[ṇun]	ڼـ ـڼـ ـڼ	[ṇ]
و	[wāw]	و ـو	[w], [u], [o]
ه	[he]	هـ ـهـ ـه	[h], [a] at ends of words
ی	[ye], [mārúfa ye][7]	يـ ـيـ ـى[5]	[y], [i]
ې	[majhúla ye][7]	ېـ ـېـ ـې	[e]
ۍ	[de tānís saqilá ye] [7]	ۍ ـۍ	[əy] at ends of words
ئ	[de tazkír saqilá ye] [7]	ئ ـئ	[əy] at ends of words

Comments:

[1] This symbol frequently occurs with additional diacritics in borrowed words:

آ = [ā] in words borrowed from Persian: [āzādí] آزادی 'freedom', and many city names, e.g., [islāmābād] اسلام آباد.

اً = [an] in words borrowed from Arabic: [amúman] عموما 'usually' or 'exactly' [áynan] عيناً

[2] Another letter of this same basic shape that occasionally occurs in educated Pashto writing is ئ, called a *hamza*. It occurs only in words borrowed directly from Arabic, and is pronounced as a glottal stop (the sound in the middle of English *oh-oh!*), if it is pronounced at all.

[3] These symbols represent sounds that exist in Arabic but not in Pashto. They are used in the spelling of words borrowed from Arabic, but are pronounced in informal speech with the closest Pashto equivalent of the Arabic sound. As you can see in the chart, the result of this maintenance of Arabic spelling is that there are three letters representing the [s] sound, and four letters representing the [z] sound. Educated Pashtuns will in formal or careful speech pronounce the letters (especially mostly ع and ح) as they are in Arabic, much the way that English speakers will pronounce French words in English with

their French pronunciation. The "educated" pronunciation of those letters, if there is one, is given first, and the normal Pashto pronunciation second.

[4] These three letters are pronounced differently in the major dialects of Pashto, as was mentioned in Chapter 2:

Letter	Pronunciation		
	Western	Central	Eastern
ژ	[zh]	[z]	[j]
ږ	retroflex [zh^r]	[g]	[g]
ښ	retroflex [sh^r]	[x]	[kh]

[5] ل followed by ا is normally represented as لا (a combination of two letters, which is called a ligature). ل followed by م is also represented by a ligature لم. Arabic and Persian have other ligatures which Pashto does not use. This is sometimes problematic in computerized fonts for Pashto, which are typically developed by non-Pashto speakers from basic Arabic or Persian fonts. Developers assume that Pashto employs all the ligatures that Arabic and Persian do, and the resulting Pashto word processing programs do not allow for the "undoing" of the unused ligatures.

[6] Sometimes the letter has the dots in final form, e.g., ي and ې

[7] The different variations of the letter ی arise from a felt necessity to represent the Pashto vowel [e] when it occurs at the ends of words (it is one of the frequently occurring grammatical endingsin feminine nouns and in verbs), and to represent the grammatical ending [əy] in nouns, adjectives and verbs. The names of the letters translate as follows:

ی	[mārúfa ye] 'known y' (probably because ی is the normal symbol)
ې	[majhúla ye] 'unknown y' (probably because ې is a symbol occurring only in Pashto)
ۍ	[de tānís saqilá ye] 'heavy feminine y'
ئ	[de tazkír saqilá ye] 'heavy masculine y'

E. Punctuation

To the westerner, the most obvious indication of the lack of standardization of Pashto discussed in the previous chapter is the wide variation in punctuation among writers of Pashto. First, the convention of leaving spaces between words is not consistently observed, especially in hand-written documents. Readers use other clues to distinguish one word from another, such as their knowledge of letter shapes, grammatical endings, and Pashto vocabulary. For native speakers of the language, this presents little problem, justasthissentencecanbedecipheredrelativelyeasilyby English speakers.

Periods, commas, question and quotation marks appear in Pashto, but are used differently from writer to writer. (Commas and question marks are the mirror images of those used in roman alphabets: ؟ and ،.) In general, Pashtuns who know a western language well tend to adopt punctuation conventions from the western language. Often, however, punctuation marks are used differently from conventional western practice: commas, for example, are often used to indicate the ends of sentences, and quotation marks are used for a variety of purposes, from indicating emphasis to setting off parenthetical remarks.

F. Relationship between Spoken and Written Pashto

From a linguistic point of view, a writing system is considered optimal if there is one and only one symbol representing each distinctive sound in the language. Pashto is both over-representational--there is more than one symbol representing the sound [s], for example--and under-representational--there are some vowels for which there are no symbols in the writing system, and stress is not marked at all.

In the charts on the following pages, the vowel and consonant sounds are listed with the letters used to represent them.

Pashto Vowels and Letter Representations

Vowel transcription	Pashto letter
[a] initially	ا
[a] finally	ه
[a] medially	no symbol
[ā] in all positions	ا
[e] initially	اې
[e] medially, finally	ې
[i] initially	ای
[i] medially, finally	ی
[ɪ] initially	ا
[ɪ] medially, finally	no symbol
[o] initially	او
[o] finally	و
[o] medially	و, no symbol
[u] medially, finally	و
[ʊ] in all positions	no symbol
[ə] finally	ه
[ə] elsewhere	no symbol
[əy] finally (nouns, adjs)	ۍ
[əy] finally (verbs)	ئ

Pashto Consonants and Letter Representations

Consonant transcription	Pashto letter	Consonant transcription	Pashto letter
[b]	ب	[n]	ن
[ch]	چ	[ṇ]	ڼ
[d]	د	[p]	پ
[ḍ]	ډ	[q]	ق
[dz]	ح	[r]	ر
[f]	ف	[ṛ]	ړ
[g]	گ, ږ	[s]	ث, ص, س
[gh]	غ	[sh]	ش
[h]	ه	[t]	ط, ت
[ḥ]	ح	[ṭ]	ټ
[j]	ج	[ts]	څ
[k]	ك	[w]	و
[kh]	خ	[x]	ښ
[l]	ل	[y]	ی
[m]	م	[z]	ظ, ض, ژ, ذ, ز
		[ʔ]	ئ

Chapter 5: Nouns

A. Introduction

Nouns in Pashto have gender (masculine and feminine), number (singular and plural), and case (called here direct and oblique). Within each gender, there are classes, membership in which is based on the form of the plural endings: in this analysis, there are four classes of masculine nouns, three of feminine nouns. In addition, there are irregular masculine and feminine nouns, the endings of which are idiosyncratic.

In the sections below, we will first describe the forms of different classes of nouns. Then we will describe and give examples of the uses of the different forms in the classes, including descriptions of the direct and oblique cases, the singular, plural, vocative and other forms.

The grammatical study of Pashto has not progressed to the point where there is widespread agreement on such basic topics as the number of noun classes. In the case of more heavily studied languages, scholars have long ago arrived at agreement: all analyses agree, for example, on the number and characteristics of the noun classes in Latin. In Pashto, however, writers differ in their analyses, and use different criteria for choosing the number and characteristics of classes. In the absence of extensive dictionaries and word counts, the distinction between a noun class or sub-class with very few members and a set of irregular nouns that happen to behave the same way is a very arbitrary one.

B. Masculine and Feminine Noun Classes

The most basic division of nouns is into two major classes, called *masculine* and *feminine*, in line with traditional analyses of such classes in the Indo-European languages. Each noun has one or the other gender, and the gender of the noun determines agreement within the noun phrase, and within the sentence or clause. In particular, the gender of a noun determines which endings will occur on any of its modifiers: adjectives, for example, will occur with masculine or feminine endings depending on the gender of the noun they modify. And the gender of the noun in the subject position in a sentence (or in past tense transitive sentences, the object) determines whether the verb will have masculine or feminine endings.

The masculine and feminine classes are divided into sub-classes, called M1, M2, F1, F2, and so on. In this analysis, membership in a sub-class depends on the plural and oblique case endings that occur on the noun: all M2 nouns, for example, form their direct plurals by adding the suffix [-úna] ونه- to the direct singular form, and their oblique plurals by adding the suffix [-úno] ونو- to the direct singular form. In the sections below, we list the masculine and feminine sub-classes, with their general characteristics, examples, and discussions of exceptional members of the class. The following abbreviations are used:

Genders:	Numbers:	Cases:
M = masculine	S = singular	D = direct
F = feminine	P = plural	O = oblique

and examples of nouns with all their forms are given in boxes.

C. Masculine Nouns

Words denoting all male animals and people are masculine, for example 'landowner' [khān] خان, ' go-between' [raybār] ريبار , and 'male camel' [wux] اوښ . In addition, however, most masculine nouns refer to objects, qualities, and ideas that have no natural gender. Some examples: 'surprise' [ɦayrát] حيرت, 'blink' [rap] رپ, and 'thorn' [khār] خار.

M1 nouns. Nouns in the M1 class form their plurals by adding the suffix [-ān] ان- to the direct singular form. M1 nouns ordinarily denote people or animals, and ordinarily end in consonants. The oblique singular form of an M1 noun is usually the same as the direct form, and the oblique plural is formed by adding the suffix [-o] و- to the direct plural form.

'student'	*DS* : [shāgárd]	شاگرد	*DP* : [shāgərdā́n]	شاگردان
M1	*OS* : [shāgárd]	شاگرد	*OP* : [shāgərdā́no]	شاگردانو

Other examples of M1 nouns are:

'sir' [sā́yɪb] صاحب	'contractor' [ijāradā́r] اجاره دار
'poet' [shāír] شاعر	'historian' [tārikh póh] تاريخ پوه
'day laborer' [ajír] اجير	'fundamentalist' [ɪkhwānáy] اخوانی
'Uzbeki' [uzbák] ازبك	'professor, barber' [ustā́d] استاد

There are many nouns that form their plurals and obliques along the standard M1 pattern, but do not follow the pattern strictly.

The following are examples of inanimate rather than animate M1 nouns:

'thing' [shay] شی
'mulberry tree' [tut] توت
'cloth' [ṭukár] ټوکر
'fingernail' [nuk] نوك
'flower' [gwal] گل

There is also a group of animate nouns, not ending in consonants but ending in [-ā] ا- instead, whose plurals are formed with the M1 suffix [-ā́n] ان-. Many of these words denote people in occupations or professions. A [y] is added between the [ā] ا- of the stem and the [ā] ا- of the suffix. An example:

'pasha'	*DS*: [pāchā́] پاچا	*DP*: [pāchāyā́n] پاچایان
M1	*OS*: [pāchā́] پاچا	*OP*: [pāchāyā́no] پاچایانو

Other examples:

'friend, lover' [ashnā́] اشنا
'prophet' [peshwā́] پیشوا
'guide' [rahnamā́] رهنما
'mullah' [mulā́] ملا
'clerk' [mirzā́] میرزا

Another large group of atypical M1 nouns end in [-i] ی-. These nouns denote mostly animates, like the group described just above. In the plural and oblique forms, the final [-i] ی- changes to [y].

'foreigner'	*DS*: [khārejí] خارجی	*DP*: [khārejyā́n] خارجیان
M1	*OS*: [khārejí] خارجی	*OP*: [khārejyā́no] خارجیانو

Other examples:

'hash smoker' [bangí] بنگی
'assassin' [khuní] خونی
'drummer' [ḍolchí] ډولچی
'cupbearer' [sāqí] ساقی
'soldier' [spāyí] سپایی
'rebel' [yāghí] یاغی
'parrot' [totí] طوطی
'judge' [qāzí] قاضی
'kabob seller' [kabābí] کبابی
'antagonist' [modáyi] مدعی

Yet another group of atypical M1 nouns is a group of mostly animate nouns that end in stressed [-ə] ه-. The [-ə] ه- drops when the plural [-ā̃n] ان- is added.

'wolf'	*DS*: [lewə́] لېوه	*DP*: [lewā̃n] لېوان
M1	*OS*: [lewə́] لېوه	*OP*: [lewā̃no] لېوانو

More examples:

'bird' [mərghə́] مرغه 'hair' [wextə́] وېښته 'crow' [kārghə́] کارغه

Another group of M1 nouns ending in a vowel is a group ending in stressed [-u] و-. The [u] changes to [w] when the [-ān] ان- endings are added:

'pumpkin'	*DS*: [kadú] کدو	*DP*: [kadwā̃n] کدوان
M1	*OS*: [kadú] کدو	*OP*: [kadwā̃no] کدوانو

Other examples:

'clay grain bin' [kandú] کندو 'piece of manure' [laḍú] لډو

A final group of non-typical M1 nouns is a group that adds the suffixes as usual, but adds or changes vowels in the root, for example:

'stepfather'	*DS.* [plandə́r] پلندر	*DP.* [plandərā̃n] پلندران
M1	*OS.* [plandə́r] پلندر	*OP.* [plandərā̃no] پلندرانو

Other examples:

'animal' [dzənāwár] ځناور 'shrinekeeper' [mɪnjawár] منجور

M2 nouns. M2 nouns are those masculine nouns that form their plurals by adding the suffix [-úna] ونه- to the direct singular form. M2 nouns ordinarily denote inanimate objects, or ideas or characteristics. The oblique singular form of an M2 noun is usually the same as the direct form. The oblique plural is formed by adding the suffix [-úno] ونو- to the direct singular. For example:

'house'	*DS*:	[kor] كور	*DP*:	[korúna] كورونه
M2	*OS*:	[kor] كور	*OP*:	[korúno] كورونو

Examples of other M2 nouns are:

'hospital' [roghtún] روغتون

'dance' [atáṇ] اتڼ

'pomegranate' [anắr] انار

'classroom' [sɪnf] صنف

'guess' [aṭkál] اټکل

'dream' [khob] خوب

There are many nouns that form their plurals and obliques along the standard M2 pattern, but do not follow the pattern strictly.

Some M2 nouns have an alternative oblique plural form which is formed by adding the suffix [o] و-, rather than the suffix [-úno] ونو-, to the direct stem, for example 'house', which has both [koró] کورو and [korúno] کورونو as possible oblique plural forms.

Some animate nouns are M2 in form, for example:

'horse' [as] اس

'father' [plār] پلار

There is a group of M2 nouns that add the plural and oblique plural endings as usual, but add a [-á] ه- to the oblique singular form.

'kitchen garden'	*DS*. [pāléz] پاليز	*DP*. [pālezúna] پاليزونه
M2	*OS*. [pālezá] پاليزه	*OP*. [pālezúno] پاليزونو

There is a larger group that adds a [-á] ه- to the oblique singular form, but changes the vowels in the stem as well.

'slacks, pants'	*DS*. [patlún] پتلون	*DP*. [patlanúna] پتلنونه
M2	*OS*. [patlāná] پتلانه	*OP*. [patlanúno] پتلنونو

Other examples:

'thigh' [wrun] ورون

'(Afghan) pants' [partúg] پرتوګ

'oven' [tanúr] تنور

'liver' [laṛmún] لړمون

'knee' [zangún] زنګون

Another set of M2 nouns changes [a] to [ə] in the plural and oblique forms:

'office'	*DS.* [daftár] دفتر	*DP.* [daftərúna] دفترونه
M2	*OS.* [daftə́r] دفتر	*OP.* [daftərúno] دفترونه

Other examples:

'ocean' [samandár] سمندر
'street' [sarák] سرك
'shroud' [kafán] كفن
'country' [watán] وطن

Another group of M2 nouns end in stressed [-ə]. These appear to be words of great antiquity in the language, and include both animate and inanimate nouns. The final [-ə] drops in the plural forms:

'husband'	*DS.* [meṛə́] مېړه	*DP.* [meṛúna] مېړونه
M2	*OS.* [meṛə́] مېړه	*OP.* [meṛúno] مېړونو

Some other nouns in this group:

'sheep' [pəsə́] پسه
'grandfather' [nikə́] نيکه
'heart' [zṛə] زړه
'uncle' [trə] تره
'wedding' [wādə́] واده (the [ā] changes to [a] in the oblique forms)

Yet another group of M2 nouns delete the final vowel [a] of their stems when the [-úna] -ونه and [-úno] -ونو endings are added:

'mountain'	*DS.* [ghar] غر	*DP.* [ghrúna] غرونه
M2	*OS.* [ghar] غر	*OP.* [ghrúno] غرونو

Other nouns in this group include:

'door' [war] ور
'rug' [ṭaghár] ټغر
'unit of weight' [man] من
'unit of length' [gaz] گز

M3 nouns. The direct singular form of an M3 noun ends in [ay] ی. The direct plural and oblique singular forms of an M3 noun are the same, and are formed by replacing the [ay] with [i] . (The Pashto spelling does not change, however.) The oblique plural of an M3 noun is formed by replacing the [ay] of the direct singular with [o]و-. M3 nouns denote both animate beings and inanimate objects, ideas or characteristics.

Some M3 nouns are stressed on the next-to-final syllable:

'friend'	*DS:*	[malgáray] ملګری	*DP:*	[malgári] ملګری
M3	*OS:*	[malgári] ملګری	*OP:*	[malgáro] ملګرو

Other M3 nouns with stress on the next-to-last syllable are:

'summer' [wóṛay] اوړی	'scabbard' [tékay] تهکی
'elder' [spingíray] سپین ږیری	'monument' [tsə́lay] څلی

The stress in many M3 nouns is on the final vowel:

'turban'	*DS:*	[paṭkáy] پټکی	*DP:*	[paṭkí] پټکی
M3	*OS:*	[paṭkí] پټکی	*OP:*	[paṭkó] پټکو

Other examples of M3 nouns with stress on the final syllable are:

'man' [saṛáy] سړ ی	'planting bed' [paṭáy] پټی
'spring' [pasarláy] پسرلی	'cooking' [pakhláy] پخلی
'calf' [khusáy] خوسی	'Ahmadzai' [ahmadzáy] احمدزی
'Abdalai' [abdāláy] ابدالی	'Achakzai' [atsəkzáy] اڅکزی
'Afridai' [apridáy] اپریدی	

As can be seen in the examples above, many of the Pashtun tribe names are M3 nouns with last-syllable stress.

A particular characteristic of the M3 last-syllable stressed nouns is that they have alternate [-ān] ان-, [-āno] انو- and [-əyo] یو- plurals. For example:

'man'	*DS* :	[saṛáy] سړی	*DP* :	[saṛí] سړی /
M3				[saṛyā́n] سړیان
	OS :	[saṛí] سړی	*OP* :	[saṛo] سړو /
				[saṛyā́no] سړیانو /
				[saṛə́yo] سړیو

'Ghalzai'	*DS:* [ghəldzāy] غلځی	*DP:*	[ghəldzí] غلځی / [ghəldzyān] غلځیان
	OS: [ghəldzí] غلځی	*OP:*	[ghəldzó] غلځو / [ghəldzyāno] غلځیانو / [ghəldzəyó] غلځیو

M4 nouns. The direct singular form of an M4 noun ordinarily ends in [ā] ا- or [á] ه-; M4 nouns generally refer to animates. The direct and oblique singular forms of an M4 noun are the same. The direct plural is formed by adding the suffix [-gān] گان- to the direct singular form, and the oblique plural is formed by adding the suffix [-o] و- to the direct plural form.

'uncle'	*DS:* [māmā] ماما	*DP:* [māmāgān] ماماگان
M4	*OS:* [māmā] ماما	*OP:* [māmāgāno] ماماگانو

Examples of other M4 nouns are:

'musician' [sāzəndá] سازنده

'representative' [namāyindá] نماینده

'grandfather (title)' [bābā] بابا

'child' [bandá] بنده

'Hazara' [azārá] هزاره

There is a large group of M4 nouns ending in [-u] و -:

'scarf'	*DS.* [sālú] سالو	*DP.* [sālugān] سالوگان
M4	*OS.* [sālú] سالو	*OP.* [sālugāno] سالوگانو

Other examples of M4 nouns ending in [-u] و - are:

'toy' [lāṭú] لاټو

'knife' [chāqú] چاقو

'weaving tool' [mākú] ماکو

'snake charmer' [pāṛú] پاړو

'sailor' [māṇú] ماڼو

'churn' [məndāṇú] منداڼو

'sugar beet' [lablabú] لبلبو

D. Feminine Nouns

Words referring to all female animals and people are feminine, for example 'girl' [péghla] پېغله, 'female nurse' [parastā́ra] پرستاره, and 'woman whose son has died' [búra] بوره . Feminine nouns also denote objects, qualities and ideas that have no natural gender, for example 'shoe' [paṇá] پڼه, 'tear' [wóxka] اوښکه, and 'thirst' [tə́nda] تنده.

F1 nouns. F1 nouns form their direct plural and oblique singular forms by replacing the final vowel of the direct singular form with the suffix [-e] ې-. The direct singular form can end in unstressed [-a]/[-ə] ه- or [-e] ې-. The oblique plural is formed by replacing the final vowel of the direct singular form with the suffix [-o] و-.

'woman'	*DS* : [xə́dza] ښځه	*DP* : [xə́dze] ښځې
F1	*OS* : [xə́dze] ښځې	*OP* : [xə́dzo] ښځو
'friend'	*DS* : [məlgə́re] ملگرې	*DP* : [məlgə́re] ملگرې
F1	*OS* : [məlgə́re] ملگرې	*OP* : [məlgə́ro] ملگرو

Other examples of F1 nouns:

'nurse' [parastára] پرستاره	'council' [jargá] جرگه
'dormitory' [layliyá] ليليه	'student (f)' [shāgə́rda] شاگرده
'rent' [ijārá] اجاره	'flag' [janḍá] جنډه

A subclass of F1 nouns appear to have dropped the final [-a] ه- in the direct singular form, and as such are the only feminine nouns that end with a consonant other than the irregular kinship terms described in the next section. For example:

'day'	*DS:* [wrádz] ورځ	*DP:* [wrádze] ورځې
F1	*OS:* [wrádze] ورځې	*OP:* [wrádzo] ورځو

Other examples:

'skirt' [lamán] لمن	'month' [myāst] مياشت
'bosom' [gheg] غېږ	'elbow' [tsangə́l] څنگل

F1 nouns appear to be related to M1 nouns, given several pairs like

'(m) nurse' [parastā́r] پرستار	'(f) nurse' [parastā́ra] پرستاره
'(m) student' [shāgárd] شاگرد	'(f)student' [shāgárda] شاگرده

F2 nouns. The direct and oblique singular forms of ordinary F2 nouns end in [-áy] ۍ-. Note that the letter ۍ is used only to represent the [-áy] ending. F2 nouns have alternative direct plural forms: the stem plus the suffix [-gāne] گانې -, the [-ay] of the stem changed to [y] and the suffix [-āne] انې- added, or a form identical to the singular. The oblique plural form has similar alternative forms that end in [-o] و-.

'family'	DS:	[koranáy] کورنۍ	DP:	[koranáy] کورنۍ/ [koranaygāne] کورنۍګانې / [koranyā́ne] کورنیانې
F2	OS:	[koranáy] کورنۍ	OP:	[koranayo] کورنیو / [koranaygā́no] کورنۍګانو / [koranyā́no] کورنیانو

Other examples of F2 nouns:

'skullcap' [khwaláy] خولۍ	'chair' [tsawkáy] څوکۍ
'sandal' [tsapláy] څپلۍ	'cradle' [dzoláy] ځولۍ

There are a number of abstract F2 nouns, the direct singulars of which end in [-í] ی- rather than, [-áy] ۍ-.

'friendship'	DS:	[dostí] دوستی	DP:	[dostáy] دوستۍ
F2	OS:	[dostáy] دوستۍ	OP:	[dostáyo] دوستیو

Other F2 nouns ending in [-í] ی- are:

'trickiness' [chālākí] چالاکی	'heat' [garmí] گرمی
'hurry' [chaṭakí] چټکی	'act of ruling, governing' [wākdārí] واکداری
'bad deed' [badí] بدی	'good deed' [nekí] نېکی

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F2 nouns appear to be related to M3 nouns: there are many pairs for which the masculine is an M3 noun and the feminine is an F2. For example:

'(m) dog' [spay] سپی	'(f) dog' [spəy] سپۍ
'(m) lamb' [wuráy] اوری	'(f) lamb' [wurə́y] اورۍ

F3 nouns. The direct singular form of F3 nouns usually ends in stressed [-á] ه- or [-ā] ا-, but there are also F3 nouns that end in [-ó] (spelled a number of ways) and [-i] ی. F3 nouns form their direct plurals by adding the suffix [-we] وي- or the suffix [-gāne] گاني- to the direct singular form. The oblique singular form is the same as the direct singular. The oblique plural is formed by adding the suffix [-wo] وو- or the suffix [-gāno] گانو- to the direct form.

'salary'	*DS:* [tankhā] تنخا	*DP:*	[tankhāwe] تنخاوي
F3			[tankhāgāne] تنخاگاني
	OS: [tankhā] تنخا	*OP:*	[tankhāwo] تنخاوو
			[tankhāgāno] تنخاگانو

Examples of other F3 nouns:

'Pashtun homeland' [paxtunkhwā] پښتونخوا	'cruelty' [jafā] جفا
'May-June' [jawzā] جوزا	'dignity' [ḥayā] حیا
'mistake' [khatā] خطا	'praise' [sanā] ثنا
'beginning' [shuró] شروع	'topic' [mawzó] موضوع
'request' [arzó] آرزو	'prediction' [peshbiní] پېشبینی
'enmity' [duxmaní] د ښمنی	

E. Irregular Nouns

Like the other Indo-European languages, Pashto has a number of irregular nouns. Irregular nouns in Pashto are clearly masculine or feminine, in that any given noun will consistently occur with adjectives and verb endings of one gender or the other. Beyond that, however, their oblique and plural forms are varied enough that these nouns cannot readily be grouped into any of the more regular noun classes that are described above.

Arabic borrowings. One of the largest groups of irregular nouns are borrowings from Arabic. In many cases (and depending on the erudition of the speaker) the Arabic plural of a noun has been borrowed into Pashto along with its singular. Frequently, a regular Pashto plural will exist side by side with the Arabic plural, especially if the noun has come into wide usage in Pashto. A frequently encountered irregular noun borrowed from Arabic is:

'principle'	*DS:*	[ásəl] اصل	*DP:*	[usúl] اصول
M irreg.	*OS:*	[ásəl] اصل	*OP:*	[usúlo] اصولو

Many of the borrowings from Arabic occur with the Arabic plural [- āt] -ات, which is the regular Arabic feminine plural. All such words borrowed into Pashto, however, are masculine, probably because they end in consonants. For example:

'animal'	*DS:*	[haywān] حیوان	*DP:*	[haywānāt] حیوانات
M irreg.	*OS:*	[haywān] حیوان	*OP:*	[haywānāto] حیواناتو

A good many of the words ending in [- āt] -ات are Arabic borrowings that exist only in plural form only as mass nouns; these are discussed in Section G below.

Kinship terms. A very obvious group of irregular nouns are the kinship terms, which are all native words of great antiquity. Many are members of classes or subclasses and have been listed above; we are listing them here separately, with their plural and oblique forms.

'brother'	*DS:*	[wror] ورور	*DP:*	[wrúna] ورونه
	OS:	[wror] ورور	*OP:*	[wrúno] ورونو
'uncle'	*DS:*	[akā] اکا	*DP:*	[akāgān] اکاگان
	OS:	[akā] اکا	*OP:*	[akāgāno] اکاگانو
'paternal uncle'	*DS:*	[trə] تره	*DP:*	[trúna] ترونه
	OS:	[trə] تره	*OP:*	[trúno] ترونو

'mother'	*DS:*	[mor] مور	*DP:*	[máynde] ميندې
	OS:	[mor] مور	*OP:*	[máyndo] ميندو
'sister'	*DS:*	[khor] خور	*DP:*	[khwáynde] خو يندې
	OS:	[khor] خور	*OP:*	[khwáyndo] خو يندو
'sister's son' (M3)	*DS:*	[khwrayáy] خوريی	*DP:*	[khwrayā̃n] خوريان
	OS.	[khwrayí] خوريی	*OP :*	[khwrayó] خوريو/
				[khwrayā̃no] خوريانو
'son'	*DS:*	[zoy] زوی	*DP:*	[zāmán] زامن
	OS:	[zoy] زوی	*OP:*	[zāmáno] زامنو
'brother'	*DS:*	[wror] ورور	*DP:*	[wrúna] ورونه
	OS:	[wror] ورور	*OP:*	[wrúno] ورونو
'aunt'	*DS:*	[tror] ترور	*DP:*	[tráynde] تر يندې
	OS:	[tror] ترور	*OP:*	[tráyndo] تر يندو
'daughter'	*DS:*	[lur] لور	*DP:*	[lúṇe] لونې
	OS:	[lur] لور	*OP:*	[lúṇo]لونو
'husband's brother'	*DS:*	[lewár] لېور	*DP:*	[lewrúna] لېورونه
	OS:	[lewrá] لېوره	*OP:*	[lewrúno] لېورونو
'daughter-in-law'	*DS:*	[ngor] نگور	*DP:*	[ngáynde] نگيندې
	OS:	[ngor] نگور	*OP:*	[ngáyndo] نگيندو
'brother's son'	*DS:*	[wrārá] وراره	*DP:*	[wrerúna] ورېرونه
	OS:	[wrārá] وراره	*OP:*	[wreró] ورېرو /
				[wrerúno] ورېرونو

Other old irregular words. Besides the kinship terms, there are other irregular nouns that seem to have been in the language for a long time. Some samples (grouped by similarity of plural and oblique formation):

'Pashtun'	*DS:*	[paxtún] پښتون	*DP:*	[paxtānә́] پښتانه
M irreg.	*OS:*	[paxtānә́] پښتانه	*OP:*	[paxtanó] پښتنو

Other example: 'ant, anthill' [megatún] مېږتون

'ruler'	*DS:*	[wākmán] واکمن	*DP:*	[wākmán] واکمن
M irreg.	*OS:*	[wākmán] واکمن	*OP:*	[wākmáno] واکمنو

Other examples:

'enemy' [duxmán] دښمن	'sensitive one' [dardmán] دردمن

F. Regularization

Irregular nouns vary widely from dialect to dialect, from speaker to speaker, and even within the same speaker at different times. For the most part, this variation arises when irregular nouns become regularized, or lose their irregularity and conform to one or the other of the regular classes.

Observations of the ways in which forms 'regularize', and of the assignment of class and gender to newly borrowed words from other languages, show that regularization appears to be moving towards the following norms:

a: Nouns ending in consonants are masculine. Animate masculine nouns are M1; inanimate nouns are M2.

b: Nouns ending in an unstressed vowel are F1.

c: Nouns ending in stressed vowels are either M4 or F3.

An example of regularization can be seen in the word 'horse' [as] اس , which is M2 in the central dialect, and as such violates the 'rule' that animate nouns are M1; in the Kandahar dialect, however, the word occurs with both M2 and M1 endings. Other examples are M1 nouns denoting inanimates, like 'fingernail' [nuk] نوك and 'thing' [shay] شی, which frequently occur with M2 endings.

Gender and class assignment of borrowed nouns. Nouns borrowed into Pashto from other languages are assigned a gender and a class: for example, a borrowing from English, which does not have gender and case among nouns, is converted into a masculine or feminine noun of one or the other of the classes. It appears that the classification, which is remarkably consistent from speaker to speaker, is based almost entirely on the phonological shape of the noun and usually conforms to the norms listed above. Even words like 'animal' [haywā̃n] حيوان, borrowed from Arabic, which has its own gender system, ignore the Arabic gender classes and are reclassified in Pashto according to their shape.) Animate nouns ending in consonants are usually assigned to the M1 class, for example 'officer' [afsár] افسر, and 'doctor' [ḍākṭár] ډاکټر. Inanimate nouns ending in consonants are usually assigned to the M2 class, for example 'address' [adrás], ادرس , 'bicycle' [bā̃ysikíl] بايسکل, and 'branch (of a business, bank, etc.)' [brā̃nch] برانچ. Nouns ending in unstressed vowels are usually assigned to the F1 class, for example 'Britain' [briṭā̃nye] بريتانيي, although 'America' has emerged in Pashto as the F3 [amrikā́] امريکا , another English borrowing ending in [i] has become an F2 noun: 'agency' [eyjansáy] اژنسی, and a borrowing from French ending in a stressed [o] has emerged as an F3: 'painting' [tāb1ó] تابلو.

G. Singulars and Plurals

The uses of singular and plural forms in Pashto are similar to the uses of singulars and plurals in English. Nouns denoting one object are singular; those denoting more than one are plural. There are differences from word to word: for example, the English word 'pants' is plural, whereas the word for Afghan pants--[partúg] پرتوگ-- is singular.

Mass nouns. There are a number of Pashto nouns that function in ways similar to English mass nouns like *chalk, cheese, wheat,* and so on: in English, these mass nouns regularly occur only in the singular. In Pashto, however, such words occur either only in singular or only in plural. These nouns tend to denote such things as grain, food, liquid, or other elements that are not practically countable.

Some examples of always-singular mass nouns are names for Afghan food:

'(cooked) rice' [chaláw] چلو	'kebob' [kabā̃b] کباب
'pilaf]' [paláw] پلو	'soup' [xurwā́] ښوروا

and some examples of always-plural mass nouns are:

'flour' [wṛa] اوړه
'wine' [sharãb] شراب
'food' [khwãṛá] خواړه
'water' [wobá] اوبه
'lentils' [dāl] دال

Note that the always-plural designation of these mass nouns is not based on their direct form, which appears to be missing a plural ending, but on the fact that their oblique forms are always with the oblique plural [-o] و- ending, and they always occur with plural adjectives and verbs. The following sentences illustrate this:

[woba khwáge di.] اوبه خوږې دی.
water sweet*FP* is*3P* 'The water is sweet.'

[zə khwage wobá tskam.] زه خوږې اوبه څکم.
I sweet*FP* water drink 'I'm drinking the sweet water.'

Many Arabic borrowings ending in the Arabic [-at] ات- plural are always-plural mass nouns, for example:

'equipment' [ɪkmālãt] اکمالات
'universe' [kãynãt] کاینات
'conveniences' [tas-hilãt] تسهیلات
'relationship(s)' [munãsɪbãt] مناسبات
'publications' [nasharãt] نشرات

Numerical plurals. A peculiar characteristic of masculine nouns ending in consonants is that when they occur in phrases modified by numbers, they end in [-a] ه instead of the expected [-úna] ونه- or [i-] ی-:

'three houses' [dre kóra] دري کوره
'five offices' [pindzá daftára] پنځه دفتره
'two streets' [dwa saráka] دوه سرکه

H. Uses of the Cases

Pashto nouns function in sentences as they do in other languages: as subjects, objects, objects of prepositions, and as vocatives.

Uses of the direct forms of nouns. The direct singular and plural forms of nouns are used in subject position in present tense sentences and clauses:

[paxtún pə kābə́l ke wosi.]
Pashtun in Kabul in lives
پښتون په کابل کښې اوسی.
'The Pashtun lives in Kabul.'

[paxtāná pə kābə́l ke wosi.]
Pashtuns in Kabul in live
پښتانه په کابل کښې اوسی.
'The Pashtuns live in Kabul.'

They are also used in in direct object position in present tense sentences:

[ahmad paxtún wíni.]
Ahmad Pashtun sees
احمد پښتون وینی.
'Ahmad is seeing the Pashtun.'

[ahmad paxtāná wíni.]
Ahmad Pashtuns sees
احمد پښتانه وینی.
'Ahmad is seeing the Pashtuns.'

Uses of the oblique forms of nouns. The oblique singular and plural forms of nouns are used as objects of prepositions:

[de paxtāná zoy pə kābə́l ke wósi.]
of Pashtun son in Kabul lives
د پښتانه زوی په کابل کښې اوسی.
'The Pashtun's son lives in Kabul.'

[de paxtanó zamən pə kābə́l ke wósi.]
of Pashtuns sons in Kabul live
د پښتنو زمن په کابل کښې اوسی.
'The Pashtuns' sons live in Kabul.'

and in subjects of past tense transitive sentences (these oblique forms are part of the very distinctive Pashto ergative construction described in detail in Chapter 11).

[paxtāna topak rā́woṛ.]
Pashtun rifle brought
پښتانه توپك راووړ.
'The Pashtun brought the rifle.'

[paxtano topak rā́woṛ.]
Pashtuns rifle brought
پښتنو توپك راووړ.
'The Pashtuns brought the rifle.'

These forms are also used as vocatives, for example:

[ey ghwā!] (F3, *OS*)	اې غوا !
O cow	'You cow!'
[ey nikə́!] (M irreg, *OS*)	اې نیکه !
O grandfather	'Grandfather!'
[ey māmāgā́no!] (M4, *OP*)	اې ماماګانو !
O uncles	'Uncles!'
[ey xə́dzo!] (F1, *OP*)	اې ښځو !
O women	'Women!'

There are regular exceptions to the rule given above that the oblique forms of nouns are used in vocatives. Masculine nouns ending in consonants (the [y] of M3 nouns counts as a consonant) form the vocative by adding the suffix [-a] ه- to the direct singular form, for example:

'boy!'	[alə́ka!] ! هلکه (M1)
'friend!'	[məlgə́rya!] ! ملګریه (M3)

and feminine nouns ending in consonants form their vocatives by adding the suffix [-e] to the direct singular, for example (the [y] in the feminine ending [-əy] ی- does not count as a consonant):

'mother!'	[móre!] ! مورې (F irreg.)
'family!'	[koranə́y!] ! کورنۍ (F3, *OS* form)

J. Other Analyses

MacKenzie (1987) describes the different classes from a historical point of view, and bases membership in a class on the shape of the direct singular form. He posits three main masculine stem types: those ending in a consonant (our M1 and M2), those ending in stressed [ə́y] (our M3 with final stress) and those ending in unstressed [ay] (our M3 with next-to-final-syllable stress); and three main feminine stem types: those ending with unstressed [-a] (our F1), those ending in stressed [-əy] (our F2), and those ending in unstressed [-e] (a subclass of our F1). Mackenzie posits four cases: direct, oblique, vocative, and prepositional.

Shafeev (1964) groups nouns on the basis of their gender and the ending vowel or consonant of the direct singular form, then describes the formation of feminine nouns from masculine ones, the formation of plurals, the cases, which he calls absolute and oblique, vocatives, and the Pashto constructions corresponding to the genitive, dative, instrumental and prepositional cases.

Penzl (1955) divides nouns into five masculine and six feminine subclasses, and describes and gives examples of each class. He posits four cases: direct, oblique 1, oblique 2, and vocative, and discusses their uses. He briefly describes word formation and the derivational suffixes. Many of the differences between Penzl's analyses and ours can be traced to the differences between the central dialect our analysis is based on, and the western or Kandahar dialect Penzl's is based on.

In the following chart are the correspondences (some of them not exact) between the analysis in this chapter, and those of Penzl, Mackenzie and Shafeev.

Here:	Penzl:	Mackenzie	Shafeev
M1	M2	*classes*	Masc. 1,
M2	M1	*not*	Masc. 1
M3	M3, M4	*given*	Masc 2, 5
M4	M2	*names,*	Masc. 4
M irregulars	M5	*and*	Masc. 3
		grouped	
F1	F1, F2	*with*	Fem. 1, 4, 5, 7
F2	F4	*adjective*	Fem. 3, 6
F3	F3, F5	*classes*	Fem. 2
F irregulars	F6		

Chapter 6: Pronouns

A. Introduction

There are several different types of pronouns in Pashto: weak pronouns parallel to English ordinary personal pronouns; strong pronouns parallel to the English personal pronouns in emphatic positions; demonstrative pronoun/adjectives parallel to English *this/that/these/those* ; and other interrogative and indefinite pronouns parallel to English *who, what*, etc.

B. Weak Pronouns.

Form. The Pashto weak pronouns are parallel to the English personal pronouns *I , you, he, she, it, we, they*; and are much the same in meaning, although there are great differences between the English and Pashto pronouns in terms of form, position, and occurrence in sentences. There are two forms for each weak pronoun, which correspond closely but not exactly to the direct and oblique forms of nouns. The weak pronoun forms are as follows:

Person/Number	*Direct/ Possessive*	*Oblique (Obj. of Prep.)*
1S. ('I', 'my', 'me')	[me] مې	[rā] را
2S. ('you', 'your', 'you')	[de] دې	[dər] در
3S. ('he/she', 'his/her', 'him/her')	[ye] يې	[wər] ور
1P. ('we', 'our', 'us')	[mo] مو/[am] ام	[rā] را
2P. ('you-all', 'your', 'you')	[mo] مو/[am] ام	[dər] در
3P. ('they', 'their', 'them')	[ye] يې	[wər] ور

Occurrence. Weak pronouns are dropped entirely in subject position in present tense and past tense intransitive sentences. They are also dropped in object position in past tense transitive sentences. In the examples below, the position of the dropped pronoun is indicated with ___.

Dropped in subject position in present tense sentences:

[ahmad gaḍégi.]	احمد گډېږی.
Ahmad dances	'Ahmad is dancing.'
[gaḍégi.]	— گډېږی.
dances	'He is dancing.'
[gaḍégəm.]	— گډېږم.
(I) dance	'I am dancing.'
[ahmad me machawí.]	احمد مې مچوی.
Ahmad me kisses	'Ahmad is kissing me.'
[machawí me.]	— مچوی مې.
kisses me	'He is kissing me.'

Dropped in subject position in past tense intransitive sentences:

[ahmad gaḍedə́.]	احمد گډېده.
Ahmad danced	'Ahmad was dancing.'
[gaḍedə́.]	— گډېده.
(he) danced	'He was dancing.'
[gaḍedə́m.]	— گډېدم.
(I) danced	'I was dancing.'

Dropped in object position in past tense transitive sentences:

[ahmad kitāb lwəstə́.]	احمد کتاب لوسته.
Ahmad book read	'Ahmad was reading the book.'
[ahmad lwəstə́.]	احمد — لوسته.
Ahmad read (it)	'Ahmad was reading it.'

[ahmad khpələ xádza machawálə.]	احمد خپله ښځه مچوله.
Ahmad own wife kissed	'Ahmad was kissing his wife.'
[ahmad machawáləm.]	احمد — مچولم.
Ahmad kissed (me)	'Ahmad was kissing me.'
[machawáləm ye.]	مچولم يي —.
kissed (me) he	'He was kissing me.'

The direct forms of weak pronouns are used in several ways. First, they are used when the pronoun is the object of the verb in present tense sentences, and when the pronoun is the subject of the sentence in past tense transitive sentences.

[ahmad me machawí.]	احمد مي مچوی.
Ahmad me kisses	'Ahmad is kissing me.'
[machawáləm ye.]	مچولم يي .
kissed (me) he	'He was kissing me.'

The direct forms are also used in possessive constructions:

[kitā̆b me]	کتاب مي
book my	'my book'
[kitā̆b ye]	کتاب يي
book his	'his book'

The oblique forms of the weak pronouns are used with pre- and post-positions:

[asad ás rā ta ákhli.]	اسد اس راته اخلی.
Asad horse me to buys	'Asad is buying a horse for me.'
[laylā̆ wər ta wáwele.]	ليلا ورته ووېلي.
Layla them to told	'Layla told them.'

[amān ná wər sara dzí.] امان نه ورسره ځی.
Aman not him with goes 'Aman isn't going with him.'

[dā dər póre khāndi.] دا در پوري خاندی.
she you at laughs 'She's laughing at you.'

(For further discussion of the behavior of weak pronouns with certain prepositions, see Chapter 10, Prepositions.)

Other characteristics of weak pronouns. Many of the sentences above illustrate that the position of weak pronouns is not consistent. The rules by which the position of weak pronouns (and other particles) are positioned in a sentence are given in detail in Chapter 11, Simple Sentence Structure. Briefly, however, the weak pronoun follows the first stressed phrase in the sentence, regardless of its function in the sentence. The stressed phrase can be the subject or object phrase, an entire prepositional phrase, a verb, or an adverb.

Weak pronouns are never stressed in sentences. A weak possessive pronoun is often written attached to the word it follows, for example کتلبيي for [kitáb ye]. The [y] in [ye] يي is often not pronounced: کتلبيي is often pronounced [kitābe].

C. Strong Pronouns

Strong pronouns are used when the speaker wants to emphasize the pronoun, e.g.

[zə ahmaq ná yəm; dáy ahmaq da.] زه احمق نه یم؛ دی احمق دی.
I stupid not am he stupid is 'I'm not stupid; he is.'

Strong pronouns function like nouns in sentences, but in the singular there are three rather than two possible forms: one set of forms is used in subject position; another in direct object position; and the third in object of preposition positions (including the possessive construction). In the plural, there is only one form per person, used in all positions in the sentence.

The third person singular strong pronouns are differentiated into two semantic groups: those used when the person or object referred to is in sight of the speaker; the others used when the referent is out of sight. Pashtun writers differ in referring to a person or object already mentioned: some use the 'in-sight' forms, and others use the 'out-of-sight' forms.

The third person 'out-of-sight' strong pronouns are stressed on the final syllable. It is stress alone that differentiates them from the demonstrative pronouns to be discussed below.

The strong pronoun forms are as follows:

Singular forms	*Subj.*	*Obj.*	*Obj. of Prep.*
1S. ('I', 'me')	[zə] زه	[mā] ما	[mā] ما
2S. ('you')	[tə] ته	[tā] تا	[tā] تا
3S. (in sight)			
m. ('he', 'him')	[day] دی	[day] دی	[də] ده
f. ('she', 'her')	[dā] دا	[dā] دا	[de] دې
3S. (out of sight):			
M. ('he', 'him')	[aghá] هغه	[aghá] هغه	[aghá] هغه
F. ('she', 'her')	[aghá] هغه	[aghá] هغه	[aghé] هغې
Plural forms		*All positions*	
1P. ('we', 'us')		[mung] مونږ	
2P. ('you')		[tăse] تاسې	
3P. (in sight) ('they', 'them')		[duy] دوی	
3P. (out of sight) ('they', 'them')		[aghúy] هغوی	

Possessive phrases with strong pronouns take the form of ordinary prepositional phrases with the preposition [de] د. There is dialectal variation in their pronunciation, and the spelling system favors the Kandahar dialect's pronunciation.

Possessive phrases with strong pronouns

Form:	*Central pronunciation*	*Other pronunciation*	*Pashto spelling*
1S	[di mā]	[zmā]	زما
2S	[di tā]	[stā]	ستا
3SM (in sight)	[di də́]	[di də́]	د ده
3SF (in sight)	[di dé]	[di dé]	د دي
3S M (out of sight)	[de aghə́]	[de aghə́]	د هغه
3SF (out of sight)	[de aghé]	[de aghé]	د هغي
1P	[di múng]	[zmung]	زمونږ
2P	[di tāse]	[stāse]	ستاسي
3P M&F (in sight)	[de dúy]	[de dúy]	د دوی
3P M&F (out of sight)	[de aghúy]	[de aghúy]	د هغوی

D. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in Pashto correspond to the English demonstrative pronouns *this, that, these* and *those*, and, like such forms in English, are used both as pronouns and as adjectives. Pashto demonstratives, like nouns, are masculine or feminine, singular or plural, direct or oblique.

In addition, there is a three-way contrast in Pashto demonstratives, called here close, middle, and far. (English has only close - *this /these* - and far - *that/those*.) The 'middle' demonstratives translate into English sometimes as 'this/these', and sometimes as 'that/those'.

Demonstrative pronouns.

Masculine forms:

close	*DS:* [[dā] دا/dăgha] دغه	*DP:* [dā] دا/dăgha] دغه
('this/these')	*OS* :[de] دې/[də́ghə] دغه	*OP:* [də́gho] دغو
middle	*DS:* [ágha] هغه	*DP:* [ágha] هغه
	OS: [ághə] هغه	*OP:* [ágho] هغو
far	*DS:* [úgha] هوغه	*DP:* [úgha] هوغه
('that/those')	*OS:* [úghə] هوغه	*OP:* [úgho] هوغو

Feminine forms:

close	*DS:* [dā] دا/[dăgha] دغه	*DP:* [dā] دا /[dăghe] دغه
('this/these')	*OS:* [de] دې/[də́ghe] دغې	*OP:* [de] دې/[də́gho] دغو
middle	*DS:* [ágha] هغه	*DP:* [ághe] هغې
	OS: [ághe] هغې	*OP:* [ágho] هغو
far	*DS:* [úgha] هوغه	*DP:* [úghe] هوغې
('that/those')	*OS:* [úghe] هوغې	*OP:* [úgho] هوغو

The only difference between the two-syllable demonstrative pronouns and the similarly-spelled strong pronouns is that the demonstratives are pronounced with stress on the first syllable, whereas the strong pronouns are stressed on the last syllable:

Middle Demonstratives	*Strong pronouns*
[ágha] هغه = 'this/that (M)'	[aghá] هغه = 'he/she (out of sight)'
[ághe] هغې = 'this/that (F)'	[aghé] هغې = 'her'

The masculine/feminine distinction is maintained not only with males and females, but also corresponds to the grammatical gender of whatever is being referred to.

[ágha ta góral] هغه ته گوره !
that at look 'Look at that (m)!.' (referring to a man, book, etc.)

for example, contrasts with

[ághe ta góral] هغې ته گوره !
that at look 'Look at that (f)!' (referring to a woman, chair, etc.)

E. Other Pronouns

Interrogative /indefinite pronouns. Pashto has interrogative pronouns parallel to English *who?* and *what?*. [tsok] څوك translates as 'who?', and has the alternative oblique form [chā] چا when it occurs as object of a preposition or subject of a past tense transitive sentence. Both [tsok] څوك and [chā] چا carry heavy stress in a question.

[tsók rāghay?] څوك راغی ؟
who came 'Who came?'

[chā́ ta wāye?] چا ته وايې ؟
who to talk-2s 'Who are you talking to?'

[chā́ rāwoṛ?] چا راووړ ؟
who brought it 'Who brought it?'

The word [tsə] څه is parallel to English 'what?'. It is invariant in form, and carries heavy stress in a question:

[tsə́ ba pex si?] څه به پېښ شی ؟
what will happen 'What will happen?'

[tsə́ wā́ye?] څه وايې ؟
what say (you) 'What are you saying?'

[tsə́ de wə́wele?] څه دې ووېلې ؟
what you said 'What did you say?'

Both [tsok] څوک/ [chā] چا and [tsə] څه are used as indefinite pronouns parallel to English *someone* and *something*. Combined with the adjective 'every' [ar] هر they are parallel to *everyone, everything*. When used as indefinites, they are unstressed.

[tsok rāghay.]	څوک راغی.
someone came	'Someone came.'
[artsok rāghləl.]	هر څوک راغلل.
everyone came	'Everyone came.'
[kitāb chā ta wárka.]	کتاب چا ته ورکه.
book who to give	'Give the book to someone.'
[tsə me ná di kəṛi.]	څه مې نه دی کړی.
something I not have done	'I haven't done anything (wrong).'
[ártsə me kəṛi di.]	هر څه مې کړی دی.
everything I have done	'I have done everything.'

[tsok] څوک/ [chā] چا and [tsə] څه are parallel to English *whoever* and *whatever* when combined with the clause marker [tse] چه, as shown in Chapter 13. Some examples:

[tsok tse dzān ná pezani khwdāy ná pezani.]	څوک چې ځان نه پېژنی خدای نه پېزنی.
who that self not know-3s God not know	'Whoever does not know himself does not know God.'
[tsə tse dā wāyi zə ye manə́m.]	څه چه دا وايی زه يې منم.
what that she say I it accept	'I accept whatever she says.'

Note on [khpəl] خپل. English does not differentiate among pronoun references; in the sentence *John brought his book*, for example, the *his* can refer to John, i.e. John brought his own book, or it can refer to someone else previously mentioned by not in the same sentence. Pashto does make a distinction: in the latter meaning, the ordinary adjective [khpəl] خپل appears, whereas in the first meaning, a weak or strong possessive pronoun is used.

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[ahmad khpəl kitāb rāwoṛ.] احمد خپل کتاب راووړ.
Ahmad own book brought 'Ahmad brought his (own) book.'

[ahmad ye kitāb rāwoṛ.] احمد يې کتاب راووړ.
Ahmad his book brought 'Ahmad brought his (someone else's) book.'

F. Other Analyses

Treatment of the weak pronouns varies widely, depending on the author's perceptions of relationships between the weak pronouns [rā] را, [dər] در and [wər] ور and the directional adverbs 'towards the speaker' [rā] را, 'towards the hearer' [dər] در, and 'towards the one spoken about' [wər] ور. The analysis on which the discussion of pronouns above is based considers the pronouns and directional adverbs as separate categories, although there is undoubtedly a historical reason for their having the same phonetic shape.

Shafeev (1964) calls the subject/object forms weak pronouns, but differentiates the oblique forms [rā] را, [dər] در, and [wər] ور as 'directive pronouns'. He comments that the weak pronouns function as subjects in past tense transitive sentences, and objects in other contexts, but does not discuss the fact that the pronouns do not appear at all in the converse environments.

Penzl (1955) calls the weak pronouns particles, and groups them with other particles that behave similarly with respect to their varying positions in sentences, as will likewise be done here in Chapter 11. He identifies [me] مې, [de] دې, [mo] مو and [ye] يې as pronominal particles, separates out [rā] را, [dər] در and [wər] ور as prefixes with prepositional particles. He lists the strong pronouns, calling them pronouns, and while he mentions that they can drop when the verbal forms express person in their endings, he does not give the contexts in which they drop. He also mentions that the pronouns (our strong pronouns) and particles (our weak pronouns) alternate, but does not indicate that the alternation has anything to do with meaning.

MacKenzie (1987) calls the weak pronouns enclitics, and asserts that they behave like pronouns in oblique positions (i.e. as subjects of past tense intransitive verbs, and as objects in other contexts), except with prepositions. He identifies [rā] را, [dər] در, and [wər] ور as directional adverbs that act as pseudo-pronouns.

Chapter 7: Adjectives

A. Introduction

Adjectives can be grouped into classes like the nouns, although each adjective has masculine and feminine alternatives whereas nouns are either masculine or feminine, but not both. The reason for this is that the gender of a noun determines the gender of the adjectives that modify it, so any one adjective might agree with a masculine noun at one point and a feminine noun at another point, for example the forms of the adjective for 'hungry' in the following phrases:

'hungry boy' [wəgay alə́k] وږی هلك 'hungry girl' [wəge péghla] وږې پېغله

There are four classes of adjectives, two of which have sub-classes. There are also a very few irregular adjectives.

The analysis here differs from that in *Beginning* and *Intermediate Pashto*. By assigning all the adjectives ending in [ay] ی to the same class, and grouping together all adjectives with [ə] ه endings in the masculine forms, the number of classes is reduced from six to four, and the overall analysis is less redundant.

B. Adjective Classes

Adj 1. Adjectives in this class have forms that are somewhat parallel to the M2 and F1 noun class forms. The masculine direct singular form ends in a consonant; the masculine direct plural and oblique singular forms are the same as the direct singular; and the oblique plural ends in the usual [-o] و-. The feminine forms look exactly like F1 nouns: the direct singular is formed by adding [-a] ه- to the masculine singular form; the direct plural and oblique singular end in [-e] ې- rather than [-a] ه-; and the oblique plural ends in [-o] و-.

'scattered'	*M:*	*DS:* [tit] تیت	*DP:* [tit] تیت
Adj 1		*OS:* [tit] تیت	*OP:* [títo] تیتو
	F:	*DS:* [títa] تیته	*DP:* [títe] تیتې
		OS: [títe] تیتې	*OP:* [títo] تیتو

Other adjectives in this class include:

'wide' [prākh] پراخ
'strong' [palwánḍ] پلونډ
'narrow' [tang] تنگ
'ready' [tayār] تيار

'difficult' [sakht] سخت
'whole, entire' [ṭol] ټول
'tousled' [jaṛ] جړ
'quiet' [chúp] چپ

Adj 2. Adjectives in this class have masculine forms which end in [-ay] ی-. There are two subclasses of Adj 2's: those in which the stress is on other than the last syllable, and those in which the stress is on the last syllable.

Nonfinal stressed Adj 2. The masculine direct singular form of nonfinal stress Adj 2s ends in unstressed [-ay] ی-; the masculine direct plural and oblique singular forms end in [-i] ی-; and the oblique plural form ends in [-o] و-. The direct and oblique singular forms of the feminine end in [-e]ې - and the oblique plural form ends in [-o] و-.

'thirsty'	*M:*	*DS:* [tə́gay] تږی	*DP:* [tə́gi] تږی
Non-final		*OS:* [tə́gi] تږی ه	*OP:* [tə́go] تږو
stress	*F:*	*DS:* [tə́ge] تږې	*DP:* [tə́ge] تږې
Adj 2		*OS:* [tə́ge] تږې	*OP:* [tə́go] تږو

Other adjectives in this class include:

'hungry' [wə́gay] وږی
'flaming' [sə́way] سوی
'quiet, careful' [ghə́lay] غلی

'beautiful' [xkwə́lay] ښکلی
'new' [nə́way] نوی
'complex' [pechə́lay] پېچلی

[-ay] ی is the suffix that forms participles from verbs. Most of the non-final stress 2's, then, are poly-syllabic, and are transparently related to verbs. For example:

'threatening' [ḍārawúnkay] ډارونکی from 'threaten' [ḍāraw-] - ډارو
'scheduled' [ṭākə́lay] ټاکلی from 'determine' [tāk-] -ټاک

Final stress Adj 2. Adjectives in this class mimic M3 and F2 nouns, and in *Beginning* and *Intermediate Pashto* are called Adj 6. The masculine direct singular form ends in stressed [-áy] ی-; the oblique singular and direct plural forms end in [-í] ي- or [-áy] ۍ-; the oblique plural ends in [-ó] و- or [-áyo] یو-. The feminine forms have endings like those of F2 nouns.

'thin'	*M:*	*DS:* [naráy] نری	*DP* : [narí] نري/[naráy]
Final		*OS:* [narí] نري/[naráy] نرۍ	*OP* : [naró] نرو/[naráyo] نریو
stress	*F:*	*DS:* [naráy] نرۍ	*DP* : [naráy] نرۍ
Adj 2		*OS:* [naráy] نرۍ	*OP* : [naráyo] نریو

Other adjectives in this class include:

'patriarchal' [plaranáy] پلرنی
'young' [tankáy] تنکی
'mountainous' [gharanáy] غرنی

'round' [gardáy] گردی
'primary' [lumṛanáy] لومړنی
'last' [wrustáy] وروستی

Adj 3. Adjectives in this class are similar to those in the Adj 1 class. The masculine direct singular ends in a consonant; the masculine direct plural and oblique singular forms end in stressed [á] ه-; and the oblique plural ends in stressed [ó] و-. The feminine forms are like F1 nouns. There are a number of subclasses of Adj 3, the simplest of which appears to be the smallest:

'rough'	*M:*	*DS:* [zig] زیږ	*DP:* [zigá] زیږه
Adj 3		*OS:* [zigá] زیږه	*OP:* [zigó] زیږو
	F:	*DS:* [zigá] زیږه	*DP:* [zigé] زیږې
		DS: [zigé] زیږې	*OP:* [zigó] زیږو

Other adjectives parallel to [zig] زیږ are

'long' [ugd] اوږد
'green, unripe' [um] اوم

'settled' [misht] میشت

An equally small subclass is composed of adjectives that end in [ə] ـه, of which [xə] ښه is the commonest member:

'good'	*M:*	*DS:* [xə] ښه	*DP:* [xə] ښه
Adj 3		*OS:* [xə] ښه	*OP:* [xo] ښو
	F:	*DS:* [xa] ښه	*DP:* [xe] ښې
		OS: [xe] ښې	*OP:* [xo] ښو

Other adjectives in this subclass include:

'asleep' [udə́] اوده	'gray' [sperə́] سپېره
'sharp' [terə́] تېره	'sleepy' [widə́] ویده

A much larger subclass of the Adj 3's are adjectives ending in a consonant, with stem vowel [o] or [u] -و-. (Adjectives in this subclass are called Adj 5 in *Beginning* and *Intermediate Pashto.*) Except for the masculine direct singular, the form endings in this subclass are identical to those above, but the stem vowel changes to [ā] ا in the forms ending in [ə] ه, and to [a] in the other forms[1]:

'small'	*M:*	*DS:* [woṛ] وړ	*DP:* [wāṛə́] واړه
Adj 3		*OS:* [wāṛə́] واړه	*OP:* [waṛó] وړو
	F:	*DS:* [waṛá] وړه	*DP:* [waṛé] وړې
		OS: [waṛé] وړې	*OP:* [waṛró] وړو

Other adjectives in this subclass include:

'prone, lying' [prot] پروت	'blind' [ṛund] ړوند	'soft' [post] پوست
'cooked, ripe' [pokh] پوخ	'cold' [soṛ] سوړ	'old' [zoṛ] زوړ
'full, satisfied' [moṛ] موړ	'curved' [kog] کوږ	'deaf' [kuṇ] کوڼ
'spread' [khpor] خپور	'rotten' [wrost] وروست	'wet' [lund] لوند
'mounted, riding' [spor] سپور	'heavy' [drund] دروند	'bright' [ruṇ] روڼ

---

[1] These particular stem changes occur elsewhere in the language as well. The generality appears to be that there is a tendency for stem vowels [o], [u], and [a] to change to [ā] if the following syllable contains a final [ə], and to change to or remain as [a] if the following syllable contains any other vowel but [ə].

Other adjectives in the class have idiosyncratic stem vowel changes or deletions. The examples we have are listed below.

English	MDS	Stem of other forms
'red'	[sur] سور	[sr-] - سر
'green/blue'	[shin] شین	[shn-] - شن
'sweet'	[khog] خوږ	[khwāg-] - خواږ /[khwag-] - خوږ
'warm'	[tod] تود	[tāwd-] - تاود/[tawd-] - تود

Adj 4. Adjectives in this class end in stressed vowels, and have only one form, although some of them ending in [ā] or [a] have alternate oblique plural forms ending in [-awo] اوو- (or [-o] و- in the Kandahar dialect. These adjectives come from a variety of sources, including Arabic and Persian.

'pretty'	*M:*	*DS:* [xāystá] ښایسته	*DP:* [xāystá] ښایسته
		OS: [xāystá] ښایسته	*OP:* [xāystá] ښایسته / [xāystáwo] ښایسته وو
Adj 4	*F:*	*DS:* [xāystá] ښایسته	*DP:* [xāystá] ښایسته
		OS: [xāystá] ښایسته	*OP:* [xāystá] ښایسته/ [xāystáwo] / ښایسته وو

Other adjectives in this class include.

'social' [ijtimāyī] اجتماعی
'basic, essential' [asāsī] اساسی
'Islamic' [ɪslāmī] اسلامی
'real, original' [aslī] اصلی
'emergency' [izterārī] اضطراری
'outstanding' [alā] اعلی
'mythical' [afsānawī] افسانوی
'Afghan' [afghānī] /[awghānī] افغانی

C. Irregular Adjectives

If the adjectives with stem vowel changes are included as a sub-class of Adj 3, there are very few irregular adjectives in our word list. One of them is a group of adjectives the masculine singular forms of which end in the syllable [-ar] ر-, for example 'skinny' [ḍangár] ډنگر, which are like Adj 1's except that the stems of all the forms except the masculine direct singular end in [-ər-], for example [ḍangə́r-] - ډنگر. Other adjectives in this group are 'observant' [stərgawár] سترگور, 'brave' [zṛawár] زړور, and 'fortunate' [bakhtawár] بختور .

The only other irregular adjective is 'lively' [mastāná] مستانه , which appears in some dialects to be in mid-shift from an Adj 4 to and Adj 1. The masculine forms are all the same - [mastāná] مستانه - and the feminine forms are like Adj 1.

D. Numbers

Number symbols. Pashto numbers are represented with the following numerals, which are those used in all languages written in Arabic alphabets:

1 = ١
2 = ٢
3 = ٣
4 = ٤
5 = ٥
6 = ٦
7 = ٧
8 = ٨
9 = ٩
0 = ٠

The written order of symbols in numbers higher than 9 is the same as the order in English, i.e., from left to right. For example:

15 = ١٥
20 = ٢٠
471 = ٤٧١
1,000 = ١٠٠٠

Numbers as adjectives. Pashto numbers are all adjectives, and except for 'one' [yaw] يو, which as an Adj 1 has the alternate feminine form [yawá] يوه, they have just one form (and therefore are class 4 adjectives).

Numbers between 1 and 100 are unusually irregular. In the list below of the numbers from 1 to 30, note that the 'ones' numbers differ in the teens and the twenties, especially the equivalents of 'two', three', 'four', and 'six'. Note also that the equivalent of '-teen' drops the [l] ل in the equivalents of 'sixteen' and 'nineteen'.

Roman number	Pashto number	Pashto word	Roman number	Pashto number	Pashto word
1	١	[yaw] یو	16	١٦	[shpāṛas] شپاړس
2	٢	[dwa] دوه	17	١٧	[wə́las] اوه لس
3	٣	[dre] درې	18	١٨	[atə́las] اتلس
4	٤	[tsalór] څلور	19	١٩	[núnas] نونس
5	٥	[pindzə́] پنځه	20	٢٠	[shal] شل
6	٦	[shpag] شپږ	21	٢١	[yáwist] یو ویشت
7	٧	[wə] اوه	22	٢٢	[dwáwist] دوه ویشت
8	٨	[atá] اته	23	٢٣	[də́rwist] درویشت
9	٩	[náha] نهه	24	٢٤	[tsalérist] څلیریشت
10	١٠	[las] لس	25	٢٥	[pindzə́wist] پنځه ویشت
11	١١	[yawólas] یوولس	26	٢٦	[shpágwist] شپږویشت
12	١٢	[dólas] دوولس	27	٢٧	[wə́wist] اوه ویشت
13	١٣	[dyárlas] دیارلس	28	٢٨	[atə́wist] اته ویشت
14	١٤	[tswárlas] څوارلس	29	٢٩	[náhawist] نهه ویشت
15	١٥	[pindzə́las] پنځلس	30	٣٠	[ders] دیرش

The numbers between thirty and sixty-nine are consistent among themselves. Note that in this series the equivalents of 'two' and 'three' are different from the 'two' and 'three' in the twenties, tens and ones.

31	٣١	[yáw ders] یودیرش	36	٣٦	[shpág ders] شپږدیرش
32	٣٢	[dú ders] دو دیرش	37	٣٧	[wə́ ders] اوه دیرش
33	٣٣	[drí ders] دری دیرش	38	٣٨	[atá ders] اته دیرش
34	٣٤	[tsalór ders] څلوردیرش	39	٣٩	[náha ders] نهه دیرش
35	٣٥	[pindzə́ ders] پنځه دیرش			

The numbers for forty, fifty, and sixty are as follows:

40	٤٠	[tsalwéxt]	څلويښت
50	٥٠	[pandzós]	پنځوس
60	٦٠	[shpetá]	شپېته

In the seventies, eighties, and nineties, the 'ones' are identical to the single-digit numbers except for the equivalent of 'six', which is pronounced with a [ə] rather than an [a]. Here are the seventies:

70	٧٠	[awyā]	اويا	75	٧٥	[pindzá awyā]	پنځه اويا
71	٧١	[yáw awyā]	يو اويا	76	٧٦	[shpə́g awyā]	شپږ اويا
72	٧٢	[dwá awyā]	دوه اويا	77	٧٧	[wə́ awyā]	اوه اويا
73	٧٣	[dré awyā]	دري اويا	78	٧٨	[atá awyā]	اته اويا
74	٧٤	[tsalór awyā]	څلور اويا	79	٧٩	[náha awyā]	نه اويا

The equivalents for 'eighty' and 'ninety' are:

80 ٨٠ [atyā] اتيا and 90 ٩٠ [nawí] نوی

The word for 100 is [səl] سل, which has the irregular plural [séwa] سوه used in numbers involving more than one hundred. The word 'and' [aw] او is usually inserted after [səl] سل or [séwa] سوه; its pronunciation, however, is contracted to [sə́l o] or [séwa w]. For example:

236 [dwá sewa w shpə́g ders] دوه سوه او شپږ دېرش

Numbers above one hundred are regularly formed. Some examples:

555	٥٥٥	[pindzá sewa w pindzá pandzos]	پنځه سوه او پنځه پنځوس
840	٨٤٠	[atá sewa w tsalwéxt]	اته سوه او څلويښت
923	٩٢٣	[náha sewa w də́rwist]	نه سوه او درويشت

The word for 1000 is [zər] زر , with the alternate form [zə́ra] زره. An 'and' [aw] او is sometimes added after the [zər] زر, or [zə́ra] زره and pronounced [zə́r o] or [zə́ra w]; most of the time, however, there is a pause after the [zər] زر or [zə́ra] زره. Numbers over a thousand are written with no comma or period. Some examples:

3,683	٣٦٨٣	درې زره شپږ سوه او درې اتیا [dré zəra, shpə́g sewa w dré atyā]
24,561	٢٤٥٦١	څلېریشت زره پنځه سوه او یو شپېته [tsalérist zəra, pindzə́ sewa w yáw shpeta]
320,987	٣٢٠٩٨٧	درې سوه او شل زره نه سوه او اوه اتیا [dré sewa w shə́l zəra, nə́hə sewa w wə́ atyā]

In numbers with 100 or 1000, the [yaw] is frequently dropped:

155	١٥٥	یو سل او پنځه پنځوس [yáw səl o pindzə́ pəndzos]
or		سل او پنځه پنځوس [sə́l o pindzə́ pəndzos]

In dates, 'and' [aw] او is dropped and the date pronounced as though there were hyphens. For example:

1996	١٩٩٦	یو زر نه سوه شپږ نوی [yáw zər - nə́hə sewa - shpə́g nawi]
1347	١٣٤٧	یو زر درې سوه اوه څلوېښت [yáw zər - dré sewa - wə́ tsalwext]

Ordinal numbers. Ordinal numbers (corresponding to English 'fourth', twenty-third', etc.) are formed from the cardinal numbers described above by adding the suffix [-ə́m]/[-ə́m] -م to the cardinal form. The resulting adjective has the following forms when the cardinal ends in a consonant:

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'fourth'	*M*:	*DS*: [tsalorám] څلورم	*DP*: [tsalorám] څلورم
irreg.		*OS*: [tsalorám] څلورم	*OP*: [tsalorámo] څلورمو
adj.	*F*:	*DS*: [tsalorámа] څلورمه	*DP*: [tsaloráme] څلورمې
		DS: [tsaloráme] څلورمې	*OP*: [tsalorámo] څلورمو

Other numbers which follow this pattern are

'sixth' [shpagám] شپږم	'tenth' [lasám] لسم
hundredth' [salám] سلم	'thousandth' [zərám] زرم

The following forms are used when the cardinal ends in a vowel:

'seventh'	*M*:	*DS*: [wəm] اوم	*DP*: [wəm] اوم
irreg.		*OS*: [wəm] اوم	*OP*: [wə́mo] اومو
adj.	*F*:	*DS*: [wə́ma] اومه	*DP*: [wə́me] اومې
		OS: [wə́me] اومې	*OP*: [wə́mo] اومو

Other numbers which follow this pattern are:

'eight' [atə́] اته	'nine' [nə́hə] نه

There are some irregularities in the stems of ordinals corresponding to 'second' and 'third, as follows:

'two' [dwa] دوه	'second' [doyám] دويم
'three' [dre] درې	'third' [dreyám] دريم

and the ordinal parallel to 'first' is a different adjective altogether:

'one' [yaw] يو	'first' [awál] اول (Adj 1)

There is no conventional way to represent ordinal numbers with number symbols; they are always written in words.

E. Vocative Forms of Adjectives

Vocative phrases occasionally include adjectives, and sometimes comprise adjectives used as nouns. The endings of adjectives in vocative constructions are essentially identical to those of nouns: the oblique forms are used except when the adjective ends in a consonant, in which case (always masculine: the [y] of the feminine [əy] ی ending does not count as a consonant) an [-a] ه- is added. The only exception is the non final stress Adj 2's like 'hungry' [wə́gay] وږی, the masculine vocatives of which end in [-e] in the central dialect. Some examples of vocative phrases with adjectives:

'hungry boy!'	[wəgye alə́ka!] ! وږيې هلکه
'hungry boys!'	[wəgyo alakā̃no] ! وږيو هلکانو
'hungry girl!'	[wəge péghle!] ! وږيې پېغلې
'hungry girls!'	[wəgo péghlo!] ! وږيو پېغلو
'little one!'	[wáṛa!] ! وړه
'little ones!'	[waṛo!] ! وړو

F. Uses of Adjectives

Adjectives modify nouns in ways parallel to English. A description of the position and order of adjectives in noun phrases is given in Chapter 11, but in brief, adjectives occur before the nouns they modify. For example:

[loy khā̃n] لوی خان
bigM khan 'an important khan'

[pindza xkwəle péghle] پنځه ښکلې پېغلې
five prettyF girls 'five pretty girls'

Adjectives agree with the nouns they modify in gender, number, and case:

MDS: [təgay aləḳ wobá ghwāṛi.] تږی هلک اوبه غواړی.
thirsty boy water want3S 'The thirsty boy wants water.'

MDP:	[tagi alakān wobá ghwāṛi.] thirsty boys water want*3P*	تږي هلکان اوبه غواړي. 'The thirsty boys want water.'
MOS:	[de tagi alak khwla wácha wa.] of thirsty boy mouth dry was	د تږي هلك خوله وچه وه. 'The thirsty boy's mouth was dry.'
MOP:	[de tago alakāno khwle wáche we.] of thirsty boys mouths dry were	د تږو هلکانو خولې وچې وې. 'The thirsty boys' mouths were dry.'
FDS:	[tage peghla wobá ghwāṛi.] thirsty girl water want*3s*	تږې پېغله اوبه غواړي. 'The thirsty girl wants water.'
FDP:	[tage peghle wobá ghwāṛi.] thirsty girls water want*3P*	تږې پېغلې اوبه غواړي. 'The thirsty girls want water.'
FOS:	[de tage peghle khwla wácha wa.] of thirsty girl mouth dry was	د تږې پېغلې خوله وچه وه. 'The thirsty girl's mouth was dry.'
FOP:	[de tago peghlo khwle wáche we.] of thirsty girls mouths dry were	د تږو پېغلو خولې وچې وې. 'The thirsty girls' mouths were dry.'

Adjectives also occur in predicates, as they do in English, with the Pashto equivalents of 'be' and with other predicates like 'become' [keg-] - کېږ and 'seem' [xkar-] ښکار. These predicate adjectives agree with their subjects in gender, number, and case (which is always direct, because predicate adjectives always occur in intransitive constructions). In the examples above, the agreement can be seen with the noun 'mouth' [khwla] خوله which is F1, and the adjective 'dry' [wach] وچ which is Adj 1.

Most adjectives can be used as nouns, in ways parallel to the English adjective *poor* in "The poor ye always have with you' but more extensively than in English. (In many cases, the Pashto adjective-as-noun translates as 'the _____ one', as can be seen in the examples below.) In some dialects adjectives-as-nouns occur with adjective endings, but others occur with noun endings; in the central dialect, however, any adjective that can be used as a noun takes on the endings of the noun class most similar to the adjective. In the example below, the Adj 4 'injured, hurt' [zakhmi] زخمي is used as an M1 noun, direct plural form:

[zakhmiyā̃n roghtún ta rāghləl.] زخمیان روغتون ته راغلل.
injured hospital to came. 'The injured (ones) came to the hospital'

and in the next example, the Adj 3 'mounted, on horseback' [spor] سپور is used as an F1 noun, direct plural form:

[spare wādə́ ta rāghle.] سپرې واده ته راغلې.
mounted wedding to came. 'The mounted ones (f) (i.e. horsewomen) came to the wedding.'

G. Comparison of Adjectives

Pashto forms comparative statements like 'Ahmad is taller than Massoud' by means of prepositional phrases which do not involve special adjective suffixes like English comparative *-er* or superlative *-est* suffixes. The comparative and superlative constructions are described in Chapter 10, Prepositions.

H. Variation

Like the nouns, there is a great deal of variation from dialect to dialect in terms of adjective forms, especially in cases where the stem changes or the adjective is otherwise idiosyncratic. The Adj 1's, however, are the norm, and most variation is towards that norm.

J. Adjectives and Adverbs

Several adjectives do double duty as adverbs, modifying other adjectives or sentences. The most common of these are:

'good/well' [xə] ښه (Adj 3)
'pretty/very' [xā̃ystá] ښایسته (Adj 4)
'many/very' [ḍer] ډېر (Adj 1)
'heavy/many' [zyāt] زیات (Adj 1)

When these adjective/adverbs modify other adjectives, they agree with the adjective; when they modify sentences, they agree with the direct object if there is one, and otherwise with the subject. Examples:

[xə gaḍégi.] ښه ګډېږي.
well(m) dances (m) 'He dances well.'

[xa gaḍégi.] ښه ګډېږي.
well (f) dances (f) 'She dances well.'

[dā peghla kitabúna xə́ lwali.] دا پېغله کتابونه ښه لولي.
that girl books (m) well(m) reads 'That girl reads books well.'

[dā peghla kitabché xé lwali] دا پېغله کتابچې ښې لولي.
that girl notebooks(f) well(f) reads 'That girl reads notebooks well.'

J. Other Analyses

Penzl (1955) devotes a chapter to adjectives, and posits five classes, defined on the basis of the feminine forms. Mackenzie (1987) also posits five classes, but bases their membership on different characteristics. Shafeev (1964) posits seven classes. The classes of these analyses correlate with one another and with the one given above as follows:

Here	Penzl's	Mackenzie's	Shafeev's
1	1	1	1
2, final stress	4	4	5
2, nonfinal stress	3	5	6
3	2	additional class	7
3, C#, o/u stem v	some 1	2	2
3, C#, various stem	some 2	3	3,4
4 (all forms same)	5	additional class	additional class

Chapter 8: Verb Forms

A. Introduction

Pashto verbs are complex both in form and in use, so we have divided their description into two chapters. In this chapter, we will describe the various forms that Pashto verbs can assume, including:

- the personal endings by which verbs agree with subjects or objects;
- the forms of the verb parallel to 'be';
- the auxiliaries 'become' [kedə́l] کېدل and 'make, do' [kawə́l] کول;
- the four basic tense/aspect combinations (present/past and imperfective/perfective);
- the three types of verbs, (simple verbs, derivative verbs, and doubly irregular verbs); and
- the formation of participles.

In Chapter 9, we will describe the use of these forms in constructions which occur in simple sentences. In Chapter 13, we will describe additional constructions which appear only in clauses, for example the various verb constructions associated with conditional sentences.

Throughout the discussion, we refer to verbs as their present imperfective stems, for example 'put' [gd-] -ږد, rather than the traditional infinitives, which are formed with the past imperfective plus the [-əl] ل- past tense marker, for example 'put' [kexodə́l] کېښودل. While some Pashtun readers have objected to this departure from tradition, and correctly pointed out that the present imperfective stems are sometimes unpronounceable, we continue to use the present imperfective to keep in accord with *Beginning Pashto* and *Intermediate Pashto* and the accompanying glossary. In boxed models and examples below, however, we list the infinitive form in Pashto script (in parentheses) for the convenience of those accustomed to the traditional citation form.

In this chapter, English glosses are not given in the cases where they are impossible to formulate or do not make much sense. The lack of distinction in English between imperfective and perfective makes it difficult to reflect the distinction in Pashto, especially in dealing with the equivalent of 'be' and with the Pashto auxiliaries.

Whenever possible, intransitive verbs are used as examples, so that the points being made are not obscured by complications of the ergative construction, which is not discussed in detail until Chapter 11.

Finally, we use the following abbreviations in charts and lists of forms:

1 = first person, i.e. 'I', 'me', 'we', 'us'
2 = second person, i.e. 'you'
3 = third person, i.e. 'he', 'him', 'she', 'her', 'it', 'they', 'them'

S = singular
P = plural

M = masculine
F = feminine

pres = present
pst = past

imp = imperfective
perf = perfective

part = participle

B. Personal Endings

Verbs agree in person and number with either the objects or the subjects of sentences, depending on the tense and particular construction. Agreement is indicated with personal endings, i.e. suffixes following the verb stem which indicate person and number.

Present tense endings. The endings for verbs in present tense constructions are as follows:

Ending:		Example:	
1S:	[-əm] -م	'I'm dancing'	[gaḍégəm] گڈېگم
2S:	[-e] -ې	'you're dancing'	[gaḍége] گڈېگې
3S:	[-i] -ی	'he/she is dancing'	[gaḍégi] گڈېگی
1P:	[-u] -و	'we're dancing'	[gaḍégu] گڈېگو
2P:	[-əy] -یٔ	'you-all are dancing'	[gaḍégəy] گڈېگیٔ
3P:	[-i] -ی	'they're dancing'	[gaḍegi] گڈېگی

Note that the second person plural ending is spelled with ئ (the unique use of this letter) and that the third person endings are the same for singular and plural.

Past tense endings. In past tense constructions, the personal endings are the same as the present tense endings, except for the third person endings, which agree with the subject or object in gender as well as number, as can be seen in the examples below. (The verb 'dance' has the past tense stem [gaḍed-] - گډېد, and will be explained in the section on simple verbs below.)

Ending:		Example:	
1S:	[-əm] -م	'I was dancing'	[gaḍedə́m] گډېدم
2S:	[-e] -ې	'You were dancing'	[gaḍedé] گډېدې
3SM:	[-ə] -ه	'He was dancing'	[gaḍedə́] گډېده
3SF:	[-a] -ه	'She was dancing'	[gaḍedá] گډېده
1P:	[-u] -و	'We were dancing'	[gaḍedú] گډېدو
2P	[-əy] -ئ	'You-all were dancing'	[gaḍedə́y] گډېدئ
3PM :	[-ə] -ه	'They (m) were dancing'	[gaḍedə́lə][1] گډېدله
3PF:	[-e] -ې	'They (f) were dancing'	[gaḍedé] گډېدې

C. Tense and Aspect

The classification of verbs is based on two interacting verbal "states": tense (either present and past) and aspect (either imperfective and perfective). All verb constructions therefore involve one or the other of the following four verb forms:

Present Imperfective	*Present Perfective*
Past Imperfective	*Past Perfective*

Verbs may be classified according to the way in which their four forms are constructed, in the same way that nouns or adjectives can be grouped into classes on the basis of their various endings. There are three classes of verbs in Pashto, called in this analysis simple verbs, derivative verbs, and doubly irregular verbs. We use the term 'irregular' to describe verbs whose present and past stems are different, and the term

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[1] The presence of the [-əl-] -ل- will be explained below in the section on simple verbs.

'doubly irregular' to describe verbs whose present and past stems and imperfective and perfective stems are different.

Each verb class is described in detail below, after the presentation of the verb *be* and the auxiliaries.

Aspect, or the imperfective/perfective distinction, is a central characteristic of the verb system. Pashto aspect is difficult for non-native speakers to understand in semantic terms, but the difference between the perfective and the imperfective appears to relate to whether the action denoted by a verb is completed (= perfected, or perfective) or not completed (= imperfective). This semantic distinction is not consistent, however (in the next chapter, for example, it will be shown that positive commands use the perfective, whereas the corresponding negative commands use the imperfective), and it seems best to consider the imperfective-perfective distinction as one of grammatical form only. Readers are cautioned that a parallel should *not* be made between the Pashto perfective and the English perfect tenses, i.e. the present perfect (*I have gone*), past perfect (*I had gone*) and future perfect (*I will have gone*).

D. The Verb be

Like most of the other Indo-European languages including English, Pashto's equivalent of the verb *be* is irregular. Also like other Indo-European languages, the Pashto *be* verbs may occur as main verbs in sentences parallel to 'I am hungry' or 'He is an important khān' and also as components of verb constructions, as will be seen in the next chapter. The *be* verb is unique among Pashto verbs in that it does not have an infinitive form; we will continue to label it as *be* in English.

Present imperfective forms of *be*

1S:	'I am'	[yəm]	يم	*1P:*	'we are'	[yu]	يو
2S:	'you are'	[ye]	يې	*2P*	'you all are'	[yắstay]	ياستئ
3S:	'he is'	[da]	دی	*3P:*	'they are'	[di]	دي
	'she is'	[da]	ده				
3S/P:	'he/she/it is; they are'	[wi]	وي				
3S/P:	'there is/are'	[stă]	شته				

Present perfective forms of *be*

1S:	'I am'	[səm] شم	*1P:*	'we are'	[su] شو
2S:	'you are'	[se] شي	*2P:*	'you all are'	[səy] شئ
2S command form:		[sa] شه			
3S:	'he/she is'	[si] شی	*3P:*	'they are'	[si] شی

The 3rd singular masculine present imperfective form دی is pronounced [dəy] in the Kandahar dialect, and [day] in some of the eastern dialects. It is pronounced [day] in reading and formal speech. The spelling of the perfective forms with [sh] -ش reflect the pronunciation of the Kandahar dialect; they are pronounced with [sh] in formal speech in the central dialect.

Among third person forms, [wi] وی is used when an assumption or given fact is being discussed, whereas [da] ده and [di] دی are used when reporting an observation. The contrast is clear, for example, in the following sentences referring to a public picnic table:

[khalək dəlta năst wi.]	خلك دلته ناست وی.
people here sitting *be3S*	'People sit here. (We can use this table.)'
[khalək dəlta năst di.]	خلك دلته ناست دی.
people here sitting *be3S*	'People are sitting here. (We can see them.)'

As may be seen in the glosses, this contrast parallels the contrast in English between the simple present tense ('People sit here') and the present continuous ('People are sitting here').

The other 3rd singular present tense form listed in the chart - [sta] شته - functions like English 'there is'. An example:

[pə kor ke woṛə sta.]	په کور کي اوړه سته.
in house in flour there-is	'There's flour in the house.'

Sentences and questions with [sta] شته are commonly used over the telephone, for example:

[asad stá?]	اسد شته؟
Asad there-is?	'Is Asad there?'
[asad nə́sta.]	اسد نشته.
Asad not-there-is	'Asad isn't here.'
[wo, stá.]	وو، شته.
yes, there-is	'Yes, he's here.'

Past imperfective forms of *be*

1S:	'I was'	[wəm] وم	*1P:*	'we were'	[wu] وو
2S:	'you were'	[we] وې	*2P:*	'you all were'	[way] وئ
3SM:	'he was'	[wə] ؤ	*3PM:*	'they were'	[wə] وو
3SF:	'she was'	[wa] وه	*3PF:*	'they were'	[we] وې

Past perfective forms of *be*

		without [-ə́l-] -ل-	*with* [-ə́l-] -ل-
1S:	'I was'	[swəm] شوم	[swə́ləm] شولم
2S:	'you were'	[swe] شوې	[swə́le] شولې
3S:	'he was'	[swə] شوه	
	'she was'	[swa] شوه	[swə́la] شوله
1P:	'we were'	[swu] شوو	[swə́lu] شولو
2P:	'you all were'	[sway] شوئ	[swə́ləy] شولئ
3P:	'they were'		شول [swəl]/شوله [swə́lə]

The suffix [-ə́l-] -ل- is the regular past tense suffix, and is optional for verbs having different present and past stems. (The tense of the verb can be seen in this difference, just as the English present/past verb distinction can be seen in pairs like *run/ran*.)

In the *be* verbs as well as others, the [-ə́l-] -ل- must *not* appear in the third singular masculine form, but *must* appear in the third plural masculine form. In the latter, however, the personal ending can drop.

E. Auxiliaries

The part that auxiliaries play in the formation of verbs and constructions is described in Section G below, and throughout Chapter 9, Verb Constructions. There are two auxiliaries, described separately below.

The intransitive auxiliary. [keg-] - کېږ (کېدل) is the intransitive auxiliary which when used as a full verb has the meaning 'become'. As an auxiliary, it translates in a number of ways, so we have left glosses out of the following chart.

Present forms of the intransitive auxiliary [keg-] - کېږ (کېدل)

Present imperfective			
1S:	[kégəm] کېږم	*1P:*	[kégu] کېږو
2S:	[kége] کېږې	*2P:*	[kégəy] کېږئ
3S:	[kégi] کېږی	*3P:*	[kégɪ] کېږی
Present perfective			
1S:	[səm] شم	*1P:*	[su] شو
2S:	[se] شې	*2P:*	[səy] شئ
3S:	[si] شی	*3P:*	[si] شی

The present imperfective 3rd person form کېږی is always pronounced [kígi] in the Kandahar dialect, and frequently in other dialects as well. This pronunciation is a reflection of the phonological process described in Chapter 2.

The present perfective forms are pronounced with [sh] rather than [s] in reading and formal speech.

Past forms of the intransitive auxiliary [keg-] - کېږ (کېدل)

Past imperfective

	without [-ə́l-] -ل-	*with [-ə́l-] -ل-*
1S:	[kedə́m] کېدم	[kedə́ləm] کېدلم
2S:	[kedé] کېدې	[kedə́le] کېدلې
3SM:	[kedə́] کېده	
3SF:	[kedá] کېده	[kedə́la] کېدله
1P:	[kedú] کېدو	[kedə́lu] کېدلو
2P:	[kedə́y] کېدئ	[kedə́ləy] کېدلئ
3PM:		[kedə́l] کېدل/[kedə́lə] کېدله
3PF:	[kedé] کېدې	[kedə́le] کېدلې

Past perfective

	Without [ə́l] -ل suffix:	*With [ə́l] -ل suffix:*
1S:	[swəm] شوم	[swə́ləm] شولم
2S:	[swe] شوې	[swə́le] شولې
3SM:	[sə] شه	
3SF:	[swa] شوه	[swə́la] شوله
1P:	[swu] شوو	[swə́lu] شولو
2P:	[swəy] شوئ	[swə́ləy] شولئ
3PM:		[swəl] شول / [swə́lə] شوله
3PF:	[swe] شوې	[swə́le] شولې

Again, the past tense suffix [ə́l] -ل- is optional in verbs (except in 3rd singular masculine forms, where it must not appear) whose present and past tense stems are different, as this one is.

The initial -ش in past perfective forms is pronounced [sh] in reading and formal speech.

The transitive auxiliary. The transitive auxiliary is [kaw-] -کو (کول), which when used as a full verb has the meaning 'do' or 'make'.

Present forms of the transitive auxiliary [kaw-] - کو (کول)

Present imperfective

1S:	[kawə́m] کوم	*1P:*	[kawú] کوو
2S:	[kawé] کوې	*2P:*	[kawə́y] کوئ
3S:	[kawí] کوی	*3P:*	[kawí] کوی

Present perfective

1S:	[kəm] کړم	*1P:*	[ku] کړو
2S:	[ke] کړې	*2P:*	[kəy] کړئ
3S:	[ki] کړی	*3P:*	[ki] کړی

The [ṛ] ړ- in the perfective forms is pronounced in some dialects, and by all speakers in reading and speaking formally.

Past forms of the transitive auxiliary [kaw-] - کو (کول)

Past imperfective

	without [-ə́l-] -ل-	*with [-ə́l-] -ل-*
1S:		[kawə́ləm] کولم
2S:		[kawə́le] کولې
3SM:	[kāwə́] کاوه	
3SF:		[kawə́la] کوله
1P:		[kawə́lu] کولو
2P:		[kawə́ləy] کولئ
3PM:		[kawə́l] کول /[kawə́lə] کوله
3PF:		[kawə́le] کولې

Past forms of the transitive auxiliary [kaw-] - کو (کول)(cont.)

Past perfective

	Without [ə́l] -ل suffix:	*With [ə́l] -ل suffix:*
1S:	[kṛəm] کړم	[kṛə́ləm] کړلم
2S:	[kṛe] کړې	[kṛə́le] کړلې
3SM:	[kə] , [kṛ] کړ	
3SF:	[kṛa] کړه	[kṛə́la] کړله
1P:	[kṛu] کړو	[kṛə́lu] کړلو
2P:	[kṛəy] کړئ	[kṛə́ləy] کړلئ
3PM:		[kṛəl] کړل/[kṛə́lə] کړله
3PF:		[kṛə́le] کړلې

Note, in the 3rd singular masculine past imperfective form, the [ā] -ا- in both spelling and pronunciation. This is a reflection of a general process, mentioned in Chapter 2, in which an [a] becomes [ā] when the following final syllable ends in [ə].

F. Simple Verbs

The following sections describe how the formation of the present/past and imperfective/perfective stems of the three different types of verbs (simple, derivative, and doubly irregular). The personal endings described above are attached to these stems, and they are combined with the forms of *be* and the auxiliaries in various constructions that will be described in detail in the next chapter.

Ordinary simple verb formations. Simple verbs form their perfective stems by adding the prefix [wə́-] -و to the imperfective stem, and their past stems by adding the suffix [-ə́l-] -ل-, for example:

Simple verb formation: 'tie' [taṛ-́] - تړ (تړل)

Pres. imp.	[taṛ-́] [2] - تړ
Pres. perf.	[wə́taṛ-] - وتړ
Pst. imp.	[taṛə́l-] -تړل
Pst. perf.	[wə́taṛəl-] -وتړل

Present imperfective forms of 'tie' [taṛ-́] - تړ (تړل):

1S:	[taṛə́m] تړم	*1P:*	[taṛú] تړو
2S:	[taṛé] تړې	*2P:*	[taṛəý] تړئ
3S:	[taṛí] تړی	*3P:*	[taṛí] تړی

Present perfective forms of 'tie' [taṛ-́] - تړ (تړل):

1S:	[wə́taṛəm] وتړم	*1P:*	[wə́taṛu] وتړو
2S:	[wə́taṛe] وتړې	*2P:*	[wə́taṛəy] وتړئ
3S:	[wə́taṛi] وتړی	*3P:*	[wə́taṛi] وتړی

Past imperfective forms of 'tie' [taṛ-́] - تړ (تړل):

1S:	[taṛə́ləm] تړلم
2S:	[taṛə́le] تړلې
3SM:	[tā́ṛə] تاړه
3SF:	[taṛə́la] تړله
1P:	[taṛə́lu] تړلو
2P:	[taṛə́ləy تړلئ
3PM:	[taṛə́la] تړله/[taṛə́l] تړل
3PF:	[taṛə́le] تړلې

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[2] In this chart and elsewhere, a stress mark over a hyphen indicates that the stress occurs on the personal ending.

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Past perfective forms of 'tie' [taṛ́-] - تړ (تړل):

1S:	[wə́taṛəlam] وتړلم
2S:	[wə́taṛəle] وتړلې
3S M:	[wə́tāṛə] وتاړه
3S F:	[wə́taṛəla] وتړله
1P:	[wə́taṛəlu] وتړلو
2P:	[wə́taṛəley] وتړلئ
3PM:	[wə́taṛələ] وتړله /[wə́taṛəl] وتړل
3PF:	[wə́taṛəle] وتړلې

Examples of other simple verbs are:

'drink' [tsk-] -څک (څکل)	'throw, toss'[shind-] - شند (شندل)
'have' [lar-] - لر (لرل)	'write'[lik-] -لیك (لیکل)
'consider' [gaṇ́-] -گڼ (گڼل)	'keep' [sā́t-] -سات (ساتل)
'send' [leg-] - لېږ (لېږل)	'make, do' [kaw-] -کو (کول)

Note that it is not possible to drop the [-əl-] -ل- suffix in past tenses of simple verbs; doing so would make the past tense forms identical to the present tense forms.

Note also the presence of [ā] ا in the 3rd singular masculine forms in the past tenses in the paradigm of [taṛ́-] -تړ (تړل) above. This is another exemplification of the rule that changes [a] to [ā] when the following final syllable ends in [ə]. The verbs above that have [a] as the vowel of the stem, also have [ā] ا as stem vowel in the 3rd singular masculine forms.

Simple intransitive verbs ending in [-eg-] -ېږ-. The present stems of all intransitive simple verbs end in the common intransitive marker [-eg-] -ېږ- which is similar to the intransitive auxiliary described above. The past stems of these verbs predictably end in [-ed(ə́l)-]-(ل)ېد-. (Parentheses around an element indicate that the element is optional).

Simple verb formation: intransitives ending in [-eg-] -ېږ

'dance' [gaḍég-] - ګډېږ (ګډېدل)

Pres. imp.	[gaḍég-] - ګډېږ
Pres. perf.	[wə́ gaḍeg-] - وګډېږ
Pst. imp.	[gaḍed(ə́l)-] -(ل) ګډېد
Pst. perf.	[wə́ gaḍed(əl)-] -(ل) وګډېد

In a pattern that was seen in the auxiliary forms above, and will be seen throughout the description of verbs, the past tense marker [-ə́l-] -ل- is optional when the past stem differs from the present stem, except in the 3rd masculine forms. The following alternatives are all correct:

Past imperfective forms of [gaḍég-] - ګډېږ (ګډېدل)

Form	*without* [-ə́l-] -ل-	*with* [-ə́l-] -ل-
1S:	[gaḍedə́m] ګډېدم	[gaḍedə́ləm] ګډېدلم
2S:	[gaḍedé] ګډېدې	[gaḍedə́le] ګډېدلې
3SM:	[gaḍedə́] ګډېده	
3SF:	[gaḍedá] ګډېده	[gaḍedə́la] ګډېدله
1P:	[gaḍedú] ګډېدو	[gaḍedə́lu] ګډېدلو
2P:	[gaḍedə́y] ګډېدئ	[gaḍedə́ləy] ګډېدلئ
3PM:		[gaḍedə́lə] ګډېدله/ [gaḍedə́l] ګډېدل
3PF:	[gaḍedé] ګډېدې	[gaḍedə́le] ګډېدلې

Note the peculiarity of the 3rd masculine forms encountered before: in the singular, the past tense suffix must not appear. In the plural, the suffix must appear, but the personal ending is optional.

Examples of other simple verbs ending in [-eg-] ېږ- are:

'stop' [darég-] -درېږ (درېدل)	'reach' [raség-] -رسېږ (رسېدل)
'live' [wóseg-] -اوسېږ (اوسېدل)	'walk' [gərdzég-] -ګرځېږ (ګرځېدل)
'blow' [lagég-] -لګېږ (لګېدل)	

Simple verbs ending in [-aw-] -و-. In parallel to the intransitive verbs ending in [-eg-]-ېږ- described just above, there are also a number of simple verbs that end in the common transitive or causative suffix [-aw-] -و- which is similar to the transitive auxiliary. These are ordinary simple verbs whose forms are parallel to those of 'tie' [taṛ-́] -تړ (تړل) described above, and should not be confused with the class of transitive derivative verbs described below. Some examples (again, the stress mark over the hyphen indicates that the stress is on the personal endings):

'transport' [rasaw-́]	-رسو (رسول)	'pull, push' [chalaw-́]	-چلو (چلول)
'play' [ghagaw-́]	-غږو (غږول)	'throw' [ghordzaw-́]	-غورځو (غورځول)
'grind, knock' [ṭakaw-́]	-ټکو (ټکول)		

Simple irregular verbs. There is a great number of verbs that form their perfective stems with [wә́-] -و, but whose past tense stems differ from their present stems. These verbs are similar to English irregular verbs (like *think* with its past tense *thought* rather than the regular *thinked*), and are therefore called simple irregular verbs in this analysis.

Simple irregular verb formation: 'roll around' [rghәṛ] -رغړ (رغښتل)

Pres. imp.		[rghәṛ] -رغړ
Pres. perf.		[wә́rghәṛ] -ورغړ
	without [-әl-]-ل-:	*with* [-әl-]-ل-
Pst. imp.	[rghәxt-] -رغښت	[rghәxtә́l-] -رغښتل
Pst. perf.	[wә́rghәxt-] -ورغښت	[wә́rghәxtәl-] -ورغښتل

The following past tense imperfective forms of the verb 'roll around' [rghәṛ-] -رغړ are all correct:

Past imperfective forms of 'roll around' [rghar] - رغړ (رغښتل)		
Form:	*without* [-ə́l-] -ل-	*with* [-ə́l-] -ل-
1S:	[rghəxtə́m] رغښتم	[rghəxtə́ləm] رغښتلم
2S:	[rghəxté] رغښتې	[rghəxtə́le] رغښتلې
3SM:	[rghəxtə́] رغښته	
3SF:	[rghəxtá] رغښته	[rghəxtə́la] رغښتله
1P:	[rghəxtú] رغښتو	[rghəxtə́lu] رغښتلو
2P:	[rghəxtə́y] رغښتئ	[rghəxtə́ləy] رغښتلئ
3PM:		[rghəxtə́lə] رغښتله / [rghəxtə́l] رغښتل
3PF:	[rghəxté] رغښتې	[rghəxtə́le] رغښتلې

A lengthy if incomplete list of simple irregular verbs is given below.

English	*Present stem*	*Past stem*	*Infinitive*
'buy'	[ákhl-] اخل-	[akhist(ə́l)-] اخست(ل)-	اخستل
'wear'	[ághund-] اغوند-	[aghust(ə́l)-] اغوست(ل)-	اغوستل
'buzz'	[áluz-] الوز-	[alut(ə́l)-] الوت(ل)-	الوتل
'pass'	[áwṛ-] اوړ-	[wuxt(ə́l)-] اوښت(ل)-/	اوښتل
		(some dialects) [āwṛed(ə́l)-] اوړېد(ل)-	
'roll'	[áwṛ-] اوړ-	[awuxt(ə́l)-] اوښت(ل)-	اوښتل
'pull out'	[bā́s-] باس-	[yest(ə́l)-] ایست(ل)-	ایستل
'consider'	[ból-] بول-	[bal(ə́l)-] بل(ل)-	بلل
'know'	[pézan-] پېژن-	[pezand(ə́l)-] پېژند(ل)-	پېژندل
'explode'	[chw-] چو-	[chāwd(ə́l)-] چاود(ل)-	چاودل
'want'	[ghwā́ṛ-] غواړ-	[ghuxt(ə́l)-] غوښت(ل)-	غوښتل
'suck'	[rə́w-] رو-	[rud(ə́l)-] رود(ل)-	رودل
'slit '	[kā́g-] کاږ-	[xk(ə́l)-] ښک(ل)-	ښکل
'show'	[xə́y-] ښی-	[xod(ə́l)-] ښود(ل)-	ښودل
'see'	[gór-] گور-	[kat(ə́l)-] کت(ل)-	کتل

'read'	[lwán-] لول-	[lwist(ə́l)-] لوست(ل)-	لوستل
'see'	[wín-] وین-	[lid(ə́l)-] لید(ل)-	لیدل
'catch'	[nís-] نیس-	[niw(ə́l)-] نیو(ل)-	نیول
'roll up'	[nghā́ṛ-] نغاړ-	[nghəxt(əl)-] نغښت(ل)-	نغښتل
'say'	[wā́y-] وای-	[way(ə́l)-] وی(ل)- / [wél-] وېل-	ویل
'seem'	[yís-] ایس-	[yesed(ə́l)-] ایېسېد(ل)-	ایسېدل
'kill'	[wə́zn-] وژن-	[waz(ə́l)-] وژ(ل)-	وژل
'shoot'	[wə́l-] ول-	[wisht(ə́l)-] ویشت(ل)-	ویشتل
'extract'	[bā́s-] باس-	[west(ə́l)-] وېست(ل)-	وېستل

Four very common and very old simple irregular verbs listed below have idiosyncratic third person masculine singular and plural forms in the past tenses.

English	*Present stem*	*Past stem*	*3SM in past forms*	*3PM in past forms*
'look' (کتل)	[gór-] گور-	[kat(ə́l)-] کتل-	[kot] کوت	[kātə́] کاته
'get out' (وتل)	[wə́z-] وز-	[wat(ə́l)-] وتل-	[wot] ووت	[wātə́] واته
'climb' (ختل)	[khédz-] خېژ-	[khat(ə́l)-] ختل-	[khot] خوت	[khātə́] خاته
'eat' (خوړل)	[khwr-́] خور-	[khwaṛ(ə́l)-] خوړل-	[khwoṛ] خوړ	[khwāṛə́] خواړه

A full paradigm of the past imperfective forms of 'get out' [wəz-] وز- (وتل) is given below, with the idiosyncratic forms double-underlined.

Form:	*without [-ə́l] -ل-*	*with [-ə́l] -ل-*
1S:	[watə́m] وتم	[watə́ləm] وتلم
2S:	[waté] وتې	[watə́le] وتلې
3S M:	[wot] ووت	
3S F:	[watə́] وته	[watə́la] وتله
1P:	[watú] وتو	[watə́lu] وتلو
2P:	[watə́y] وتئ	[watə́lay] وتلئ
3P M:	[wātə́] واته	[watə́l] وتل / [watə́la] وتله
3P F:	[waté] وتې	[watə́le] وتلې

Simple Verbs beginning with [ā] -I. The perfective stems of simple verbs beginning with [a] -I, whether regular or irregular, follow the pattern shown below, in which the [wə+a-] is pronounced [wắ-]:

Simple verb beginning with [a-] -I: 'throw' [achaw-́] - اچو (اچول)

Pres. imp.	[áchaw-] - اچو
Pres. perf.	[wắchaw-] - واچو
Pst. imp.	[achawə́l-] - اچول
Pst. perf.	[wắchawəl-] - واچول

Other simple verbs starting with [a] -I include:

'buy'	[ákhl-] - اخل	'fly'	[áluz-] - الوز
'hear'	[áwr-] - اور	'wear'	[ághund-] - اغوند
'turn over'	[áṛaw-] - اړو	'roll around'	[áwṛ-] - اوړ
'send'	[ástaw-] - استو	'climb over'	[áwəxt-] - اوښت

G. Derivative Verbs

Derivative verbs are formed, or derived, from adjectives or nouns. They constitute the largest and most open class of verbs: any noun or adjective can be made into a verb, although of course in practice some nouns and adjectives do not make sense as verbs.

Derivative verbs may have transitive and/or intransitive forms: the intransitive ones reflect a state of being or a passive situation, for example, the intransitive 'be sold' or 'be on sale' [khartség-] - خرڅېږ. The transitive ones, on the other hand, tend to be causative, for example 'sell' (or 'cause to be sold') [khartsaw-́] - خرڅو.

A derivative verb consists of a noun or adjective plus either the intransitive [keg-] - کېږ (کېدل) or transitive [kaw-] - کو (کول) auxiliary. The personal endings are attached to the auxiliary. If the first component of the verb is an adjective, the adjective agrees with the subject or object in number and gender.

In the case of irregular adjectives, it is often the feminine form which is used in derivative verbs. For example (as will be explained in more detail below, the [k-] -ک of the auxiliary drops when affixed to a word ending in a vowel):

Adjective	*Masculine*	*Feminine*	*Derivative verb*
'warm'	[tod] تود	[tawda] توده	[tawdaw-́] - تودو (تودول)
'cold'	[soṛ] سوړ	[saṛə] سړه	[saṛaw-́] - سړو (سړول)
'curved'	[kog] کوږ	[kaga] کږه	[kagaw-́] - کږو (کږول)
'ripe, cooked'	[pokh] پوخ	[pakha] پخه	[pakhaw-́] - پخو (پخول)

If the noun or adjective ends in a vowel, the auxiliary is a separate word, and has forms as listed in Section E above. The adjective 'pretty' [xāystá] ښایسته, for example, becomes the intransitive derivative verb 'become pretty' [xāysta kég-] - ښایسته کېږ, with forms as follows:

'become pretty' [xāysta kég-] - ښایسته کېږ (ښایسته کېدل)

Present imperfective

1S:	[xāysta kégəm]	ښایسته کېږم
2S:	[xāysta kége]	ښایسته کېږې
3S:	[xāysta kégi]	ښایسته کېږي
1P:	[xāysta kégu]	ښایسته کېږو
2P:	[xāysta kégay]	ښایسته کېږئ
3P:	[xāysta kégi]	ښایسته کېږي

Present perfective

1S:	[xāystá səm]	ښایسته شم
2S:	[xāystá se]	ښایسته شې
3S:	[xāystá si]	ښایسته شي
1P:	[xāystá su]	ښایسته شو
2P:	[xāystá say]	ښایسته شئ
3P:	[xāystá si]	ښایسته شي

'become pretty' [xāysta kég-] - ښايسته کېږ- (ښايسته کېدل)

Past imperfective

	without [-ə́l-] - ل-:	*with* [-ə́l-]- ل-:
1S:	[xāysta kedə́m] ښايسته کېدم	[xāysta kedə́ləm] ښايسته کېدلم
2S:	[xāysta kedé] ښايسته کېدې	[xāysta kedə́le] ښايسته کېدلې
3SM:	[xāysta kedə́] ښايسته کېده	
3SF:	[xāysta kedə́] ښايسته کېده	[xāysta kedə́la] ښايسته کېدله
1P:	[xāysta kedú] ښايسته کېدو	[xāysta kedə́lu] ښايسته کېدلو
2P:	[[xāysta kedə́y] ښايسته کېدئ	[xāysta kedə́ləy] ښايسته کېدلئ
3PM:		[xāysta kedə́lə] ښايسته کېدله / [xāysta kedə́l] ښايسته کېدل
3PF:	[xāysta kedé] ښايسته کېدې	[xāysta kedə́le] ښايسته کېدلې

Past perfective

	Without [-əl-] - ل-:	*With* [-əl-]- ل-:
1S:	[xāystá swəm] ښايسته شوم	[xāystá swələm] ښايسته شولم
2S:	[xāystá swe] ښايسته شوې	[xāystá swəle] ښايسته شولې
3SM	[xāystá sə] ښايسته شه	
3SF:	[xāystá swa] ښايسته شوه	[xāystá swəla] ښايسته شوله
1P:	[xāystá swu] ښايسته شوو	[xāystá swəlu] ښايسته شولو
2P:	[xāystá swəy] ښايسته شوئ	[xāystá swələy] ښايسته شولئ
3PM:		[xāystá swələ] ښايسته شوله / [xāystá swəl] ښايسته شول
3PF:	[xāystá swe] ښايسته شوې	[xāystá swəle] ښايسته شولې

The forms for the transitive derivative verb with 'pretty' [xāysta] ښايسته are as follows:

'beautify, cause to be pretty' [xāysta kaw-́] ښايسته کو- (ښايسته کول)

Present imperfective

1S:	[xāysta kawə́m]	ښايسته کوم
2S:	[xāysta kawé]	ښايسته کوې
3S:	[xāysta kawí]	ښايسته کوی
1P:	[xāysta kawú]	ښايسته کوو
2P:	[xāysta kawə́y]	ښايسته کوئ
3P:	[xāysta kawí]	ښايسته کوی

Present perfective

1S:	[xāystá kəm]	ښايسته کړم
2S:	[xāystá ke]	ښايسته کړې
3S:	[xāystá ki]	ښايسته کړی
1P:	[xāystá ku]	ښايسته کړو
2P:	[xāystá kəy]	ښايسته کړئ
3P:	[xāystá ki]	ښايسته کړی

'beautify, cause to be pretty' [xāysta kaw-́] ښايسته کو- (ښايسته کول)

Past imperfective

1S:	[xāysta kawə́ləm]	ښايسته کولم
2S:	[xāysta kawə́le]	ښايسته کولې
3SM:	[xāysta kāwə́]	ښايسته کاوه
3SF:	[xāysta kawə́la]	ښايسته کوله
1P:	[xāysta kawə́lu]	ښايسته کولو
2P:	[xāysta kawə́ləy]	ښايسته کولئ
3PM:	[xāysta kawə́l] [xāysta kawə́lə]	ښايسته کول / ښايسته کوله
3PF:	[xāysta kawə́le]	ښايسته کولې

'beautify, cause to be pretty' [xāysta kaw-́] - ښایسته کو- (ښایسته کول)

Past perfective

	without [-əl-] - ل-:	*with* [-əl-]- ل-:
1S:	[xāystá kṛəm] ښایسته کړم	[xāystá kṛələm] ښایسته کړلم
2S:	[xāystá kṛe] ښایسته کړې	[xāysta kṛəle] ښایسته کړلې
3SM:	[xāystá kə] ښایسته کړ	
3SF:	[xāystá kṛa] ښایسته کړه	[xāystá kṛəla] ښایسته کړله
1P:	[xāystá kṛu] ښایسته کړو	[xāystá kṛəlu] ښایسته کړلو
2P:	[xāystá kṛəy] ښایسته کړئ	[xāystá kṛələy] ښایسته کړلئ
3PM:	[xāystá kṛə] ښایسته کړه	[xāystá kṛələ] ښایسته کړله / [xāystá kṛəl] ښایسته کړل
3PF:	[xāysta kṛe] ښایسته کړې	[xāystá kṛəle] ښایسته کړلې

The imperfective forms of a derivative verb are slightly different when the noun or adjective ends with a consonant. The [k-] -ک is dropped, and the rest of the auxiliary is added to the noun or adjective to form a single word. Note that the imperfective forms of these verbs are indistinguishable from the imperfective forms of simple verbs ending in [-eg-] -ېږ- or [-aw-] -و-.

All the forms for the transitive and intransitive verbs derived from the adjective 'injured' [zobəl] ژوبل ([zobə́l] has the feminine form [zóbla] ژوبله) are given below. All forms are masculine (except the obvious 3rd person feminine forms) in order to simplify the presentation; the various masculine and feminine possibilities are given later in the section.

'be injured' [zoblég-] - ژوبلېږ (ژوبلېدل)

Present imperfective

1S:	[zoblégəm] ژوبلېږم
2S:	[zoblége] ژوبلېږې
3S:	[zoblégi] ژوبلېږی
1P:	[zoblégu] ژوبلېږو
2P:	[zoblégəy] ژوبلېږئ
3P:	[zoblégi] ژوبلېږی

'be injured' [zobléẓ-] - ژوبلېږ (ژوبلېدل)

Present perfective

1S:	[zóbəl səm]	ژوبل شم
2S:	[zóbəl se]	ژوبل شې
3SM:	[zóbəl si]	ژوبل شی
1 P:	[zóbəl su]	ژوبل شو
2P:	[zóbəl səy]	ژوبل شئ
3PM:	[zóbəl si]	ژوبل شی

'be injured' [zobléẓ-] - ژوبلېږ (ژوبلېدل)

Past imperfective

	Without [-ə́l-] - ل-:	*With* [-ə́l-]- ل-:
1S:	[zobledə́m] ژوبلېدم	[zobledə́ləm] ژوبلېدلم
2S:	[zobledé] ژوبلېدې	[zobledə́le] ژوبلېدلې
3SM:	[zobledə́] ژوبلېده	
3SF:	[zobledə́] ژوبلېده	[zobledə́la] ژوبلېدله
1P:	[zobledú] ژوبلېدو	[zobledə́lu] ژوبلېدلو
2P:	[zobledə́y] ژوبلېدئ	[zobledə́ləy] ژوبلېدلئ
3PM:		[zobledə́l] ژوبلېدل / [zobledə́lə] ژوبلېدله
3PF:	[zobledé] ژوبلېدې /	[zobledə́le] ژوبلېدلې

'be injured' [zoblég-] - ژوبلېږ (ژوبلېدل)

Past perfective

	Without [-él-] - ل-:	With [-él-]- ل-:
1S:	[zóbəl swəm] ژوبل شوم	[zóbəl swələm] ژوبل شولم
2S:	[zóbəl swe] ژوبل شوې	[zóbəlswəle] ژوبل شولې
3SM:	[zóbəl sə] ژوبل شه	•
3SF:	[zóbla swa] ژوبله شوه	[zóbla swəla] ژوبله شوله /
1P:	[zóbəl swu] ژوبل شوو	[zóbəl swəlu] ژوبل شولو
2P:	[zóbəl swəy] ژوبل شوئ	[zóbəl swələy] ژوبل شولئ
3PM:		[zóbəl swələ] ژوبل شوله
		• [zóbəl swəl] ژوبل شول
3PF:	[zóble swe] ژوبلې شوې	[zóble swəle] ژوبلې شولې

· The form for the transitive equivalent of [zoblég-] - ژوبلېږ is 'injure, hurt' [zoblaw-́] - ژوبلو (ژوبلول). Its various forms are given below; again, all forms are masculine except the the obvious 3rd person feminine forms, in order to simplify presentation.

'injure, hurt' [zoblaw-́] - ژوبلو (ژوبلول).

Present imperfective

1S:	[zoblawə́m] ژوبلوم	*1P:*	[zoblawú] ژوبلوو
2S:	[zoblawé] ژوبلوې	*2P:*	[zoblawə́y] ژوبلوئ
3S:	[zoblawí] ژوبلوی	*3P:*	[zoblawí] ژوبلوی

Present perfective

1S:	[zóbəl kəm][3] ژوبل کړم	*1P:*	[zóbəl ku] ژوبل کړو
2S:	[zóbəl ke] ژوبل کړې	*2P:*	[zóbəl kəy] ژوبل کړئ
3S:	[zóbəl ki] ژوبل کړی	*3P:*	[zóbəl ki] ژوبل کړی

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[3] The [ṛ] is pronounced in other dialects, and in reading and careful pronunciation.

'injure, hurt' [zoblaw-́] - ژوبلو (ژوبلول)

Past imperfective

1S:	[zoblawə́lam] ژوبلولم	*1P:*	[zoblawə́lu] ژوبلولو
2S:	[zoblawə́le] ژوبلولې	*2P:*	[zoblawə́ləy] ژوبلولئ
3SM:	[zoblā́wə] ژوبلاوه	*3PM:*	[zoblawə́l] ژوبلول / [zoblawə́lə] ژوبلوله
3SF:	[zoblawə́la] ژوبلوله	*3PF:*	[zoblawə́le] ژوبلولې

'injure, hurt' [zoblaw-́] - ژوبلو (ژوبلول)

Past perfective

	without [-əl-] - ل-:	*with* [-əl-]- ل-:
1S:	[zóbəl kṛəm] ژوبل کړم	[zóbəl kṛələm] ژوبل کړلم
2S:	[zóbəl kṛe] ژوبل کړې	[zóbəl kṛəle] ژوبل کړلې
3SM:	[zóbəl kə] ژوبل کړ	
3SF:	[zóbla kṛa] ژوبله کړه	[zóbla kṛəla] ژوبله کړله
1P:	[zóbəl kṛu] ژوبل کړو	[zóbəl kṛəlu] ژوبل کړلو
2P:	[zóbəl kṛəy] ژوبل کړئ	[zóbəl kṛələy] ژوبل کړلئ
3PM:		[zóbəl kṛələ] ژوبل کړله / [zóbəl kṛəl] ژوبل کړل
3PF:	[zóble kṛe] ژوبلې کړې	[zóble kṛəle] ژوبلې کړلې

When the derivative verb is formed from an adjective, the adjectival part of the verb agrees, in all tenses, in number and gender with the object of the verb in transitive sentences, and with the subject of the verb otherwise. This is reflected in the forms above, and all possible forms of the adjective are shown below with the past perfective forms of the intransitive derivative verb formed from the adjective 'wet' [lund] لوند, an irregular adjective with the following forms:

M:	*DS:* [lund] لوند	*DP:* [lā́ndá] لانده
	OS: [lā́ndá] لانده	*OP:* [landó] لندو
F:	*DS:* [landá] لنده	*DP:* [landé] لندې
	OS: [landé] لندې	*OP:* [landó] لندو

'get wet' (past perfective) [lund swəl-] لوند شول-

'I (m) got wet'	[lund swáləm]	لوند شولم
'I (f) got wet'	[landa swáləm]	لنده شولم
'You (m) got wet'	[lund swále]	لوند شولې
'You (f) got wet'	[landa swále]	لنده شولې
'He got wet'	[lund sá]	لوند شو
'She got wet'	[landa swála]	لنده شوله
'We (m) got wet'	[lāndə swálu]	لانده شولو
'We (f) got wet'	[lande swálu]	لندې شولو
'You (m) all got wet'	[lāndə swáləy]	لانده شولئ
'You all (f) got wet'	[lande swáləy]	لندې شولئ
'They (m) got wet'	[lāndə swálə]	لانده شوله
'They (f) got wet'	[lande swále]	لندې شولې

As mentioned at the beginning of the section, the class of derivative verbs is open, in that almost any noun or adjective can be changed into a derivative verb by adding the appropriate auxiliary. Here is a sample:

Derived from nouns:

From 'change' [badal] بدل (M1):

'become changed into' [badlég-] - بدلېږ

'change into' [badlaw-́] - بدلو

From 'wind' [bād] باد (M1):

'be winnowed' [bādég-] - بادېږ

'winnow' [bādaw-́] - بادو

Derived from adjectives:

From 'clean' [pāk] پاك (adj 1):

'become clean' [pākég-] - پاکېږ

'clean' [pākaw-́] - پاکو

From 'blocked'- بند (adj 1):

'be blocked' [bandég-] - بندېږ

'block' [bandaw-́] - بندو

From 'straight, level' [awār] اوار (adj 1):

'be straightened' [awārég-] - اوارېږ

'straighten, level out' [awāraw-́] - اوارو

From 'obligated' [aṛ] اړ (adj 1):

'be in need' [aṛég-] - اړېږ

'force' [aṛaw-́] - اړو

From 'long' [ugd] اوږد (adj irreg.):	From 'free' [azād] آزاد (adj 1):
'become long' [ugdég-] - اوږدېږ	'become free' [azādég-] - آزادېږ
'lengthen' [ugdaw-́] - اوږدو	'set free'[azādaw-́]- آزادو

H. Doubly Irregular Verbs

The doubly irregular verbs - there are relatively few of them - are those whose perfective and imperfective stems differ as well as their present and past stems. The verb 'take', for example, has the following forms:

Pres imp:	[byāy-́] - بیایـ	*Pst imp:*	[bow(əl)-́]-بو(ل)
Pres perf:	[bóz-]- بوز	*Pst perf:*	[bótl(əl)-]-بوتل(ل)

In all the doubly-irregular verbs, the difference between perfective and imperfective is carried by stress (and is not reflected in the spelling at all). In the perfective forms, stress is on the first part of the verb, and in the imperfective forms on the last or next-to-last syllable, as can be seen in the stress marks over the hyphens in the example above. In many of the doubly irregular verbs, the shift of stress is the only difference between imperfective and perfective, for example 'plant' [kenaw-́] - کښېنو (کښېنول) which has the following forms:

Pres imp:	[kenaw-́] - کښېنو	*Pst imp:*	[kenawə́l-] - کښېنول
Pres perf:	[kénaw-] - کښېنو	*Pst perf:*	[kénawəl-] - کښېنول

All doubly irregular verbs are capable of being split into two parts: in many constructions, for example the negative, a particle is inserted between the first and second part, as will be described in Chapter 9. In most doubly irregular verbs, the first part is easy to identify, for example:

'give (to you)' [dar+kawə́l] درکول

'give (to me) ' [rā+kawəl] راکول

In some doubly irregular verbs, however, the parts are not so easily broken into syllables, for example:

'sit down' [ke + n-́] - کښېنـ (کښېناستل)

'put' [? + gd-] - ږد (کېښودل)

Other doubly irregular verbs have idiosyncratic 3rd person forms in the past forms, parallel to the idiosyncratic forms of the simple irregular verbs described above.

Here is a list of all the doubly irregular verbs we are aware of. The idiosyncratic third person forms are listed when they exist, with no stress marked, as the stress will be on the final syllable in the imperfective, and on the first syllable in the perfective.

'lose' [baylodə́l] بايلودل

Pres imp:	[bāyl-́] بايل-
Pres perf:	[bā́yl-] بايل-
Pst imp:	[bāylod(ə́l)-] بايلود-
Pst perf:	[bā́ylod(əl)-] بايلودل-

'cut' [prekawə́l] پرې کول

Pres imp:	[prekaw-́] پري کو-
Pres perf:	[prékṛ-́] پري کړ-
Pst imp:	[prekawə́l-] پري کول-
Pst perf:	[prékṛ(-əl)] پري کړل-

'wash' [premindzə́l] پرېمينځل

Pres imp:	[premindz-́] پرېمينځ-
Pres perf:	[prémindz-] پرېمينځ-
Pst imp:	[premindzə́l-] پرېمينځل-/ [prewól-] پرېوول-
Pst perf:	[prémindzəl-] پرېمينځل-/ [préwol] پرېوول

'happen' [prewatə́l] پرېوتل

Pres imp:	[prewaz-́] پرېوز-
Pres perf:	[préwaz-] پرېوز-
Pst imp:	[prewat-́] پرېوت-
Pst perf:	[préwat(əl)-] پرېوت-
3SM:	[prewot] پرېووت
3PM:	[prewātə] پرېواته

'give (to you)' [darkawə́l] درکول

Pres imp:	[darkaw-́] درکو-
Pres perf:	[dárkṛ-] درکړ-
Pst imp:	[darkawə́l-] درکوْل-
Pst perf:	[dárkṛ(əl)-] درکړل-

'go' [tləl] تلل

Pres imp:	[dz-́] ځ-
Pres perf:	[lā́ṛ s-] لاړ س-
Pst imp:	[tlə́(l)-] تلل-
Pst perf:	[lā́ṛ(əl)-] لاړل-

'come (to me)' [rātlə́l] راتلل

Pres imp: [rā+dz-́] راځـ -

Pres perf: [rā́+s-] راشـ -

Pst imp: [rātl(ə́l)-] راتلل-

Pst perf: [rághl(əl)-] راغلل -

3SM: [rā́ghay] راغی

'bring (to me)' [rāwṛə́l] راوړل

Pres imp: [rāwṛ-́] راوړ -

Pres perf: [rā́wṛ-] راوړ -

Pst mp: [rāwṛ(-ə́l)-]-راوړل

Pst perf: [rā́wṛ(əl)-] راوړل-

'put' [kexodə́l] کېښودل

Pres imp: [gd-] ږد -

Pres perf: [kégd-] کېږد -

Pst mp: [kexod(əl)-́]-کېښودل

Pst perf: [kéxod(əl)-]-کېښودل

'allow' [prexodə́l] پرېښودل

Pres imp: [pregd-́] پرېږد -

Pres perf: [prégd-]-پرېږ

Pst imp: [prexod(ə́l) -]-پرېښودل

Pst perf: [préxod(əl) -]-پرېښودل

'take' [bowə́l] بیول

Pres imp: [byā́y-] بیایـ-

Pres perf: [bóz-]-بوز

Pst imp: [bow(əl)-́]-بول

Pst perf: [bótl(əl)-]-بوتلل

'give (to me)' [rākawəl] راکول

Pres imp: [rākaw-́] راکو -

Pres perf: [rā́kṛ-] راکړ -

Pst imp: [rākaw(əl)-́] راکول-

Pst perf: [rā́kṛ(əl)-] راکړل-

'transport here' [rāwastə́l] راوستل

Pres imp: [rāwast-́] راوستـ-

Pres perf: [rā́wast-] راوستـ-

Pst imp: [rāwastə́l-] راوستل-

Pst perf: [rā́wastəl-] راوستل-

'go (to you)' [dartlə́l] درتلل

Pres imp: [dardz-́] درځـ-

Pres perf: [dárs-] درشـ-

Pst imp: [dartl(əl)-́] درتلل-

Pst perf [dárghl(əl)-]-درغلل

3SM: [daraghay] درغی

'open' [prānəstə́l] پرانستل

Pres imp: [prāniU z-] پرانېز -

Pres perf: [prā́niz-] پرانېز -

Pst imp: [prānəst(-ə́l)-] پرانستل-

Pst perf: [prā́nəst(-əl)-]-پرانستل

'get up' [pātsedə́l] پاڅېدل

Pres imp: [pātség-] پاڅېږ -

Pres perf: [pā́tseg-] پاڅېږ -

Pst imp: [pātsed(-ə́l)-] پاڅېدل-

Pst perf: [pā́tsed(-əl)-] پاڅېدل-

'squeeze' [kexkodə́l] کښکادل

Pres imp: [kekā̆g-] کښکاږ-
Pres perf: [kékā̆g-] کښکاږ-
Pst imp: [kexkod(əl)-́] کېښکود-
Pst perf: [kéxkod(əl)-] کېښکود-

'go (to him)' [wartlə́l] ورتلل

Pres imp: [wardz-́] ورځ-
Pres perf: [wárs-] ورشـ-
Pst imp: [wartl(əl)-́] ورتلل-
Pst perf: [wárghl(əl)-] ورغلل-
3SM: [wáraghay] ورغی

'take (to him)' [warwṛə́l] وروړل

Pres imp: [warwṛ-́] وروړ-
Pres perf: [wárwṛ-] وروړ-
Pst imp: [warwṛə́l-] وروړل-
Pst perf: [wárwṛəl-] وروړل-
3SM: [waŕwoṛ] ورووړ

'err' [khatāwatəl] ختاوتل

Pres imp: [khatāwəz-́] ختاوز-
Pres perf: [khatā́wz-] ختاوز-
Pst imp: [khatāwat(əl)-́] ختاوتل-
Pst perf: [khatā́wat(əl)-́] ختاوتل-
3SM: [khatā́wot] ختاوت
3PM: [khatā́wāta] ختاواته

'arrive, enter' [nənawatə́l] ننوتل

Pres imp: [nənawə́z-] ننوځ-
Pres perf: [nə́nawz-] ننوځ-
Pst imp: [nənawat(ə́l)-] ننوتل-
Pst perf: nə́nawat(əl)-] ننوتل-
3SM: [nənawot] ننه وت
3PM: [nənawātə] ننه واته

'give (to him)' [warkawə́l] ورکول

Pres imp: [warkaw-́] ورکو-
Pres perf: [wárkṛ-] ورکړ-
Pst imp: [warkawə́l-] ورکول-
Pst perf: [wárkṛ(əl)-] ورکړل-

'take, carry' [wṛəl] وړل

Pres imp: [wṛ-] وړ-
Pres perf: [wés-] یوس-
Pst imp: [wṛəl-] وړل-
Pst perf: [wéwṛ-] یووړ-
3SM: [wéwoṛ] وې ووړ

'deceive' [khatāyestəl] ختایستل

Pres imp: [khatābās-́] ختاباس-
Pr perf: [khatābās-] ختاباس-
Pst imp: [khatāyest(əl)-́] ختایېستل-
Pst perf: [khatā́yest(əl)] ختایېستل-

'sit down' [kenāstə́l] کښېناستل

Pres imp: [ken-́] -کښېنـ

Pres perf: [kén-] -کښېنـ

Pst imp: [kenāst(əl)-́] -کښېناستـل

Pst perf: [kénāst(əl)-] -کښېناستـل

'plant' [kenawə́l] کښېنول

Pres imp: [kenaw-́] - کښېنو

Pres perf: [kénaw-] - کښېنو

Pst imp: [kenawə́l-] -کښېنول

Pst perf: [kénawal-] -کښېنول

J. Participles

Pashto participles - adjectives formed from the past stems of verbs - are used in several frequently-occurring constructions. There are two types of participles: one formed with the past imperfective stems of verbs, the other formed with the past perfective stems. While the different types of participles are clearly perfective or imperfective in form, the semantic base of the imperfective/perfective distinction is usually not evident in the actual constructions.

While participles take the form of adjectives, they differ from adjectives in having alternate perfective and imperfective forms. They also differ from adjectives in that in some constructions they do not agree with subject or object.

Formation of imperfective participles. The past imperfective form of verbs is used to form imperfective participles: the participial ending [-ay] -ی is added to the past imperfective form of the verb plus the past tense suffix [-ə́l-] -ل - (i.e. the infinitive), and the resulting word is a regular class 2 adjective. The imperfective participle for the verb 'go' [dz-] -ځ therefore has the following forms:

M:	*DS:* [tlə́lay] تللی	*DP:* [tlə́li] تللی
	OS: [tlə́li] تللی	*OP:* [tlə́lo] تللو
F:	*DS:* [tlə́le] تللې	*DP:* [tlə́le] تللې
	OS: [tlə́le] تللې	*OP:* [tlə́lo] تللو

Examples of imperfective participles are:

Verb		Infinitive	Imperfective participle
Simple:			
'dance'	[gaḍeg-] - ګډېږ	[gaḍedə́l] ګډېدل	[gaḍedə́lay] ګډېدلی
'send'	[leg-] - لېږ	[legə́l]لېږل	[legə́lay] لېږلی
Derivative:			
'be built'	[joṛeg-] - جوړېږ	[joṛedə́l]جوړېدل	[joṛedə́lay] جوړېدلی
'build'	[joṛaw-] - جوړو	[joṛawə́l] جوړول	[joṛawə́lay] جوړولی
Doubly irregular:			
'sit'	[ken-́] -کښېنـ	[kenastə́l] کښېناستل	[kenastə́lay] کښېناستلی
'plant'	[kenaw-́] کشېنو	[kenawə́l] کښېنول	[kenawə́lay] کښېنولی
'go'	[dz-] -ځ	[tlə́l] تلل	[tlə́lay] تللی
'take'	[byā̃y-] -بیای	[bowə́l] بوول	[bowə́lay] بوولی

Formation of perfective participles. The participial ending [-ay] -ی is also added to the past perfective form of the verb to form the perfective participle, which is also a class 2 adjective. Some examples:

Verb		Perfective participle
Simple:		
'dance'	[gaḍég-] - ګډېږ	[wə́gaḍedəlay] وګډېدلی
'send'	[leg-́] - لېږ	[wə́legəlay]ولېږلی
Derivative:		
'be built'	[joṛég-] - جوړېږ	[joṛ sə́way] جوړ شوی
'build'	[joṛaw-́] - جوړو	[joṛ kə́ṛay] جوړ کړی
Doubly irregular:		
'sit down'	[ken-] -کښېنـ	[kénastəlay-] کښېناستلی
'plant'	[kénaw-] - کښېنو	[kénawəlay-] کښېنولی

The [-əl-] - ل- suffix may be dropped in participles, again consistently with the general rule that if something else about the form indicates that it is a past tense construction, the past tense suffix can drop. In this case, the participial ending [-ay] ی- indicates that the form is past tense.

Imperfective participle without [-əl-] - ل-	Imperfective participle with [-əl-] - ل-
[gaḍedáy] گډېدی	[gaḍedə́lay] گډېدلی
[legáy] لېږی	[legə́lay] لېږلی
[joṛedáy] جوړېدی	[joṛedə́lay] جوړېدلی
[joṛawáy] جوړوی	[joṛawə́lay] جوړولی
[kenastáy] کښېناستی	[kenastə́lay] کښېناستلی
[kenawáy] کښېنوی	[kenawə́lay] کښېنولی
[tlay] تلی	[tlə́lay] تللی
[bowáy] بووی	[bowə́lay] بوولی

Idiosyncratic participles. Two verbs are idiosyncratic with regard to participles in the central dialect: they have only the imperfective participle form, which is used in all participle constructions.

Verb		Perfective/imperfective participle
'go'	[dz-] ځ-	[tlə́lay] تللی /[tlay] تلی
'put'	[gd-] ږد-	[ixodə́lay] ایښودلی /[íxay] ایښی

The participles for the auxiliaries are also idiosyncratic:

Auxiliary		Imperfective participle	Perfective participle
Intransitive	[keg-] - کېږ	[kedə́lay] کېدلی / [kedáy] کېدی	[sə́way] شوی
Transitive	[kaw-] - کو	[kawə́lay] کولی / [kawáy] کوی	[kə́ṛay] کړی

J. Other Analyses

Analyses of verb formation vary widely from writer to writer on Pashto grammar. Mackenzie (1987) posits a four-way system similar to the one given here, i.e. based on present/past, imperfective/ perfective. He equates the doubly irregular verbs with the simple verbs, positing the first parts of the former as preverbs which preclude the [wá] prefix but attract the stress in the perfective forms, and classifies the remaining verbs as irregular. The derivative verbs are called denominative verbs in his analysis.

Shafeev (1967) establishes the perfective/imperfective aspect, but posits three tenses (present, past, future), rather than two. He identifies two types of verbs--simple and derivative--and divides the derivative verbs into three types: prefixed, denominative, and compound. His prefixed verbs are doubly irregular verbs with recognizable first parts; his denominative verbs are the derivative verbs that end in consonants, and his compound verbs are the derivative verbs that end in vowels.

Penzl (1955) observes that Afghan grammarians all clearly establish a distinction between the perfective and imperfective aspect. He posits four classes of verbs. Class I verbs are those with the same present and past stem (simple verbs), Class II verbs are those whose past stems are predictable (simple verbs ending in [-eg-]), Class III verbs are those whose past and present stems are different (simple irregular verbs), and Class IV verbs are those that have different present and past, perfective and imperfective forms (some of the doubly irregular verbs). Verbs which differentiate aspect by stress shifting alone form subgroups of Classes I - III.

Chapter 9: Verb Uses

A. Introduction

In this chapter, we describe how the verb forms presented in the last chapter are used in constructions and phrases. The chapter is organized roughly according to meaning: present time expressions are described, then future expressions, then past expressions, then constructions and expressions that are used in all three time frames. After the presentation of constructions, there is a summary of them, organized according to the form of the verb (present imperfective, present perfective, past imperfective, past perfective, and participles) used in each construction; this organization corresponds to the presentation of verb forms in Chapter 8.

To make the example sentences easier to understand, the examples will, whenever possible, contain one of the following verbs:

Simple verbs

Intransitive: 'dance' [gaḍég-] - گډېږ (گډېدل)

Transitive: 'send' [leg-] - لېږ (لېږل)

Beginning with [a] : 'buy' [akhl-] - اخل (اخستل)

Derivative verbs (derived from the class 1 adjective 'healthy, constructed' [joṛ] جوړ)

Intransitive: 'get better, be sewn, be built' [joṛég-] - جوړېږ (جوړېدل)

Transitive: 'build, make healthy, sew' [joṛaw-́] - جوړو (جوړول)

Doubly irregular verbs

Intransitive: 'go' [dz-] (تلل)

Pr. imp. [dz-́] - ځ *Pr. perf.* [lāṛ s-] - لاړ س

Pst. imp. [tlə́(l)-] - تل(ل) *Pst. perf.* [lāṛ-] - لاړ

Transitive: 'take' [byāy-] - بیایـ (بول)

Pr.imp. [byāy-] - بیایـ *Pr. perf.* [boz-] - بوز

Pst.imp. [bow(əl)-́] - بو(ل) *Pst. perf.* [bótl(əl)-] - بوتل(ل)

B. Present Time Expressions

be. The simple forms of Pashto *be* are used in constructions parallel to English 'am', 'is', and 'are', although distinctions are made between perfective and imperfective forms that are not made in English.

The present imperfective forms of *be* are used in constructions and sentences parallel to English sentences with 'am', 'is', and 'are'. For example:

[dukāndā̆r yəm.] shopkeeper *be1S*	دوکاندار یم. 'I am a shopkeeper.'
[wə́gay ye?] hungry *be2S*	وږی یې ؟ 'Are you hungry?'
[lə mor sara nā̆sta da.] with mother with sitting *be3S*	له مور سره ناسته ده. 'She's sitting with her mother.'
[paxtāné yu.] Pashtuns *be1P*	پښتانه یو. 'We are Pashtuns.'
[tāse muhtarám khaləkyā̆stəy.] you-all respected people *be2P*	تاسې محترم خلك یاستئ. 'You (all) are respected people.'
[duy aprídi di.] they Afridi *be3P*	دوی اپریدی دی. 'They are Afridis.'

The Present Imperfective Tense. Expressions parallel to the English simple present ('I go') or present continuous ('I am going') are formed by adding the present tense personal endings to the present imperfective stem of the verb, for example:

Present imperfective tense of [gaḍég-] - گډېږ

'I dance/am dancing'	[gaḍégəm] گډېږم
'you dance/are dancing'	[gaḍége] گډېږې
'he/she/it dances/is dancing'	[gaḍégi] گډېږی
'we dance/are dancing'	[gaḍégu] گډېږو
'you all dance/are dancing'	[gaḍégəy] گډېږئ
'they dance/are dancing'	[gaḍégi] گډېږی

Some examples of sentences using this tense are:

[saṛi ṭol pə melá ke gaḍégi.]
men all at picnic at dance*3P*

سړی ټول په مېله کې گډېږی.
'The men all dance at picnics.'

[laylā khpəle koranə́y ta paysé legi.]
Layla own family to money send*3S*

ليلا خپلې کورنۍ
ته پيسې لېږی.
'Layla sends money to her family.'

[tsaplə́y pə pexawə́r ke joṛégi.]
sandal in Peshawar in are made*3P*

څپلۍ په پېښور کې جوړېږی.
'Sandals are made in Peshawar.'

[mājə́t joṛawi.]
mosque they build*3P*

ماجت جوړوی.
'They are building a mosque.'

[pohantún ta dzu.]
university to we go*1P*

پوهنتون ته ځو.
'We go to the university.'

[tāse asúna bāzár ta byā́yəy?]
you-all horses bazaar to take*3P*

تاسې اسونه بازار ته بيايئ؟
'Are you all are taking the horses to the market?'

Negative present imperfective constructions. The negative of the present imperfective tense is formed by placing the negative particle [nə́] نه before the verb. For example:

Present imperfective negative of [gaḍég-] - گډېږ

'I'm not dancing/don't dance'	[nə́ gaḍegəm]	نه گډېږم
'you're not dancing/don't dance'	[nə́ gaḍege]	نه گډېږې
'he/she/it isn't dancing/doesn't dance'	[nə́ gaḍegi]	نه گډېږی
'we aren't dancing/don't dance'	[nə́ gaḍegu]	نه گډېږو
'you all aren't dancing/don't dance'	[nə́ gaḍegəy]	نه گډېږی
'they aren't dancing/don't dance'	[nə́ gaḍegi]	نه گډېږی

In present imperfective negative constructions with verbs starting with [a] ا, the [ə] ه of the negative particle drops, the [n] is attached to the verb stem, and the [a] changes to [ā]. (This change of [ə] + [a] = [ā] ا also occurs when the perfective [wə] و is attached to these verbs.)

Present imperfective negative of 'buy' [ákhl-] - اخل

'I'm not buying/don't buy'	[nā́khləm]	ناخلم
'you're not buying/don't buy'	[nā́khle]	ناخلې
'he/she/it isn't buying/ doesn't buy'	[nā́khli]	ناخلی
'we aren't buying/don't buy'	[nā́khlu]	ناخلو
'you all aren't buying/don't buy'	[nā́khləy]	ناخلئ
'they aren't buying/don't buy'	[nā́khli]	ناخلی

Some examples of the negative present imperfective are:

[mung pə wādúno ke nə́ gaḍegu.] مونږ په ودونو کې نه گډېږو.
we at weddings at *neg* dance*1P* 'We don't dance at weddings.'

[laylā pə dé myāst ke lik kor ta nə́ legi.] لیلا په دې میاست کې لیك كور ته نه لېږی.
Layla in this month in letter home to *neg* send*3S*
'Layla isn't sending a letter home this month.'

[watán pə khabə́ro nə́ joṛegi.] وطن په خبرو نه جوړېږی.
country with words *neg* build*3S* 'A country isn't built with words.'

[zə khpəle jāme ná joṛawəm.] زه خپلې جامې نه جوړوم.
I own clothes *neg* sew*1S* 'I don't sew my own clothes.'

[mung wādə́ ta ná dzu.] مونږ واده ته نه ځو.
we wedding to *neg* go*1P* 'We're not going to the wedding.'

[day khpəla koranə́y pākistā́n ta ná byāyi.] دی خپله کورنۍ
he own family pakistan to *neg* take*3S* پاکستان ته نه بیایی.
'He isn't taking his family to Pakistan.'

[plār me bāgh nā́khli.] پلار مې باغ ناخلی.
father my orchard *neg* buy*3S* 'My father is not buying the orchard.'

The Present Perfective Tense. The present perfective tense is formed by adding the personal endings to the present perfective stem of the verb. In present-time expressions, this tense occurs only in clauses, and its use in such clauses is described fully in Chapter 13. An example occurs in the next section, however, in the first clause of the sentence 'Asad will be a teacher when he finishes school.'

C. Future Time Expressions

Future Statements with *be* . Expressions corresponding to English statements like 'I'll be late' or 'We're going to be there in an hour' are formed with the perfective forms of *be* and the future marker [ba] به. The third person form [wi] وی is used in future contexts to express certainties: [si] شی is used to express possibilities. Some examples:

[tāse ba zər tə́gi say.] تاسې به ژر تږی شئ.
you *fut* soon thirsty *be2P* 'You all might be thirsty soon.'

[day ba jə́g wi.] دی به جګ وی.
he *fut* tall *be3S* 'He will be tall.'

[asad che maktab khlás ki, maalə́m ba si.] اسد چې مکتب خلص کړی
asad when school finishes teacher *fut be3S* معلم به شی.
'Asad will be a teacher when he finishes school.'

[ba] with the Present Perfective Tense. Most future expressions are formed with the future particle [ba] به and the present perfective tense, which combines the present perfective stem of the verb with the present personal endings. [ba] به occurs, along with the weak pronouns and some other particles, in fixed order in sentences (see Chapter 11 for a description and examples); this characteristic has impact on the formation of negative future statements as can be seen below.

Some examples of future constructions with the present perfective are:

[ahmad ba pə wādá ke wágaḍegi.] احمد به په واده کې وگډېږی.
Ahmad *fut* at wedding at dance*3S, pres perf* 'Ahmad will dance at the wedding.'

[plār ba me paysé bə́la hafta wə́legi.] پلار به مې پیسې بله
father *fut* my money next week send*3S, pres perf* هفته ولېږی.
'My father will send money next week.'

[laylā ba jóṛa si.] لیلا به جوړه شی.
Layla *fut* improve *aux3S, pres perf* 'Layla will get better.'

[asad ba dewāl jóṛ ki.] اسد به دېوال جوړ کړی.
Asad *fut* wall build *aux3S, pres perf* 'Asad will build a wall.'

[tor ba lāṛ si.] تور به لاړ شی.
tor *fut* go *aux3S, pres perf* 'Tor will go.'

[tor ba ye bózi.] تور به یې بوزی.
tor *fut* him take*3S, pres perf* 'Tor will take him.'

Negative future expressions. Negative future expressions involve the negative particle [nə] نه, the future particle [ba] به, and the present perfective form of the verb with the appropriate personal ending.

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With simple verbs, the particles appear in the following orders:

If there is a subject or object:

subject/object + [ba] به + [wə́] و + [nə́] نه + *present verb stem + ending*

Example:

[ahmad ba wə ná gaḍegi.]	احمد به و نه گډېږی.
Ahmad *fut* *perf* *neg* dance*3S*	'Ahmad will not dance.'

If there is both a subject and object:

subject + [ba] به + object + [wə] وه + [nə] نه + *present verb stem + ending*

Example:

[asad ba lik wə ná legi.]	اسد به ليك و نه لېږی.
Asad *fut* letter *perf neg* send*3S*	'Asad will not send the letter.'

If there is neither subject nor object:

[wə] و + [ba] به + [nə] نه + *present verb stem + ending*

Example:

[wə ba ná gaḍegi.]	و به نه گډېږی.
perf fut neg dance*3S*	'He won't dance.'

With simple verbs beginning with [a] ا, the perfective [wə] و and the [a] ا of the verb combine:

[wā] وا + [nə] - نه + *rest of the verb,*

as in the following example with the verb 'buy' [akhl-] -اخل (اخلل):

[bāgh ba wā nə́khli.]	باغ به وا نه خلی.
orchard *fut perf neg-* buy*3S*	'He won't buy the orchard.'

Future negative constructions with derivative verbs are somewhat simpler than those with simple verbs: the negative particle [nə́] نه is inserted between the adjective or noun and the auxiliary, for example:

[laylā ba joṛa ná si.]	ليلا به جوړه نه شی.
Layla *fut* improve *neg* *aux,3S, pres perf*	'Layla won't get better.'
[asad ba dewāl joṛ ná ki.]	اسد به دېوال جوړ نه کړی.
Asad *fut* wall build *neg aux, 3S, pres perf*	'Asad won't build a wall.'

Future negative constructions with doubly irregular verbs involve placement of the negative [nə́] نه between the first and second parts of the verb. For example:

'sit' [ken-] -کښېن (کښېناستل)	**Positive** '(I) sit' [kénəm] کښېنم **Negative** 'not sit' [ke nə́ nəm] کښې نه نم
'take there' [warwṛ-] -وروړ (وروړل)	**Positive** '(he) takes' [wárwṛi] وروړ ی **Negative** 'not take' [war nə́ wri] ور نه وړی
'take' [byay-] -بیاي (بول)	**Positive** '(we) take' [bózu] بوزو **Negative** 'not take' [bo nə́ zu] بو نه زو

Examples of future negative constructions involving doubly irregular verbs in sentences:

[as ba bāzár ta bo nə́ zi.]
horse *fut* market to take *neg* take*3S,pres perf*
اس به بازار ته بو نه زی.
'He won't take the horse to market.'

[pākistān ta ba lāṛ nə́ su.]
Pakistan to *fut* go *neg* go*3S, pres perf*
پاکستان ته به لاړ نه شو.
'We won't go to Pakistan.'

[asad ba amā́n ta moṭár war nə́kṛi]
Asad *fut* Aman to car give *neg*-give*3S, pres perf*
اسد به امان ته موټر ور نکړی.
'Asad will not give Amān the car.'

Present Imperfective Tense with Future Time Phrases. Just as in English, the present imperfective tense described in the previous section may be used in future contexts, especially if a future marker like 'tomorrow' or 'next week' is present:

[zə ba bə́l zəmay pə pākistā́n ke yəm.]
I *fut* next winter in Pakistan in *be1S*
زه به بل ژمی په پاکستان کې یم.
'I'm (to be) in Pakistan next winter.'

[plār me payse bála hafta légi.] پلار مي پيسي بله هفته لېږي.
father my money next week send*3S* 'My father is sending money next week.'

Contrastive Future Expressions. As was described just above, ordinary future constructions are formed with the present perfective form of the verb preceded by the particle [ba] به . The same construction with the imperfective stem, however, yields rough equivalents to the English future progressive (e.g. 'I will be writing letters'). In actual use, however, the construction implies contrast between one action and another, for example:به

[zə ba dzə́m, tə ba pate kége.] زه به ځم، ته به پاتي کېږي.
I *fut* go*1S, pres im* you *fut* stay *aux2S, pres imp*
'I'll be going, you'll be staying.'

[tə ba gaḍége, zə ba darégəm.] ته به گډېږي، زه به درېږم.
you *fut* dance*2S, pres imp* I *fut* stand*1S, pres imp*
'You'll be dancing, I'll be standing.'

[tə ba tsá kawe?] ته به څه کوي؟
you *fut* what do*2S, pres imp* 'What will you be doing?'

D. Commands

Commands with be. The present perfective forms of 2nd person *be* forms--[sa] شه and [səy] شئ--are used in commands, and are made negative by inserting the particle [mə] مه. Examples:

[zṛawár sa!] زړور شه!
brave *be2S* 'Be brave.'

[sābə́r səy.] صابر شئ!
patient *be2P* 'Be patient.'

[sāda mə́ sa.] ساده مه شه!
naive *neg* *be2S* 'Don't be naive.'

Another kind of command that translates roughly as English 'May you ...' involves the use of [se] شي rather than [sa] شه . The familiar Pashto greetings are examples of this construction:

[stəṛay má se.] tired *neg be2S*	ستړی مه شي . 'May you not be tired.'
[khwār má se.] miserable *neg be2S*	خوار مه شئ . 'May you not be miserable.'
[zṛawár se!] brave *be2S*	زړور شي ! 'May you be brave!'

Positive Commands. Ordinary positive commands are formed with the present perfective stem of the verb, plus the verb ending [-a] ه- (singular) or [-əy] ئ (plural). The adjective component of derivative verbs agrees with the direct object, if there is one, and with the subject if there isn't an object; the auxiliary agrees with the subject. Some examples:

Positive command forms of 'dance' [gaḍég-] - گډېږ (گډېدل)

'dance' (to one person)	[wə́gaḍega] وگډېږه
'dance' (to more than one)	[wə́gaḍegəy] وگډېږئ

Positive command forms of 'build (it/them)' - جوړېږ (جوړېدل)

To one person:

'build (it M)'	[jóṛ ka] جوړ کړه
'build (it F)'	[jóṛa ka] جوړه کړه
'build (them M)'	[jóṛ ka] جوړ کړه
'build (them F)'	[jóṛe ka] جوړې کړه

Positive command forms of 'build (it/them)' - جوړېږ (جوړېدل) (cont.)

To more than one person:

'build (it M)'	[jóṛ kəy] جوړ کړئ
'build (itF)'	[jóṛa kəy] جوړه کړئ
'build (them M)'	[jóṛ kəy] جوړ کړئ
'build (them F)'	[jóṛe kəy] جوړې کړئ

Positive command forms of 'go' [dz-] - ځ (تلل)

'go' (to one person)	[lắṛ sa] لاړ شه
'go' (to more than one)	[lắṛ səy] لاړ شئ

Positive command forms of 'take' [byay-́] - بیای- (بیول)

'take' (to one person)	[bóza] بوزه
'take' (to more than one)	[bózəy] بوزئ

Additional examples of positive commands:

[kor jóṛ ka.]
house (M) build *aux2S, pres perf*
کور جوړ کړه.
'Build the house.'

[tsawkəy jóṛa ka.]
chair (F) build *aux2S, pres perf*
څوکۍ جوړه کړه.
'Build the chair.'

[bāzar ta rā sara lắṛ sa.]
bazaar to me with go *aux2S, pres perf*
بازار ته را سره لاړ شه.
'Go to the bazaar with me.'

[wə́gaḍegəy.]
dance*2P, pres perf*
وګډېږئ.
'Dance (everyone).'

[māshumān dər sara bóza.]
children you with take*2S, pres perf*
ماشومان در سره بوزه.
'Take the children with you.'

Commands with [wardz-] - ورځ (ورتلل) *and* [rādz-] - راځ (راتلل). These doubly irregular verbs are exceptional in that their positive commands are formed with the imperfective rather than the perfective stem (recall that these are doubly irregular verbs, and so imperfective forms carry stress on the final syllable). Examples:

[rādzá che dzu.] راځه چې ځو.
come*2S, pres imp* that we go 'C'mon, let's go.'

[wardzə́y.] ورځئ.
go*2S, pres imp* 'Go there.'

Negative Commands. Negative commands are formed with the particle [mə́], the present imperfective stem of the verb (not the perfective as in positive commands), and the same 2nd person endings as positive commands-- [-a] ه (singular) and [-əy] ئ (plural).

Negative command forms of 'dance' [gaḍég-] - گډېږ (گډېدل)	
'don't dance' (to one person)	[mə́ gaḍega] مه گډېږه
'don't dance' (to more than one)	[mə́ gaḍegəy] مه گډېږئ
Negative command forms of 'go' [dz-] - ځ (تلل)	
'don't go' (to one person)	[mə́ dza] مه ځه
'don't go' (to more than one)	[mə́ dzəy] مه ځئ

Examples of negative commands are:

[maktub wos mə́ lega.] مکتوب اوس مه لېږه.
letter now *neg* send*2S* 'Don't send the letter now.'

[kor sarək ta nizde mə́ joṛaway.] کور سرك ته نژدې مه جوړوئ.
house road to close *neg* build*2P* 'Don't build the house so close to the road.'

[wos mə́ dza.] اوس مه ځه.
now *neg* go*2S* 'Don't go now.'

[laylā kor ta má byāyay.]	لیلا کور ته مه بیایئ.
Layla house to *neg* take*2P*	'Don't take Layla home yet.'

[bāgh mākhla.]	باغ ماخله.
orchard *neg* buy*2S*	'Don't buy the orchard.'

In this last example, it can be seen that the [ə] of the negative particle, followed by the beginning [a] of the verb, again results in [ā].

Intensive Commands. As described above, ordinary positive commands require the present perfective stem of verbs. There are other commands which involve the imperfective stem. In most cases, the imperfective command conveys a sense of urgency:

[pātséga	tse	gharq	swe!]	پاڅېږه چې غرق شوې!
get up*2S, pres imp*	that	doomed	you are	'Get up before you're doomed!' (i.e., the snake is about to bite you)

The greater sense of urgency which the imperfective command carries can be seen in the following examples

[wə́khwṛa]	وخوره.
eat2S, pres perf	'Eat.' (normal invitation)

as opposed to

[khwṛá!	mā	ta	mágora!]	خوره! ما ته مه گوره!
eat2S, pres imp	me	to	don't watch	'Eat! Don't wait for me!'

or

[khwrá	ye	che	dzu.]	خوره یې چې ځو.
eat2S, pres imp	it	that	we-go	'Finish eating it so we can go.'

or

[khwrá	ye	che	saṛegi.]	خوره چې سړېږی.
eat2S, pres imp	it	that	get-cold	'Eat it, it's getting cold.'

Another contrast:

[rā spór sa.] را سپور شه.
here mount*2S, pres perf* 'Get on (behind me on a horse)' (normal command)

as opposed to

[rā sparéga!] را سپرېږه!
here mount*2S, pres imp* 'Get on (so we can get out of here)!'

In some cases, the imperfective command conveys a sense of repeated action, for example:

[har wakht che zə rā́səm, daréga.] هر وخت چې زه راشم،
every time that I come stand up*2S, pres imp* درېږه.
'Every time I come, stand up.'

and a contrastive example:

[tə dzá; zə dar dzəm.] ته ځه، زه در ځم.
you go*2,S pres imp* I there am-going 'Keep going; I'll catch up.'

as opposed to

[tə lā́ṛ sa; zə ba sabā́ dársəm.] ته لاړ شه، زه به
you go*2S, pres perf* I *fut* tomorrow go-there سبا درسم.
'Go; I'll go tomorrow.'

E. Past Time Expressions

Past Time Expressions with be. The past imperfective forms of *be* are used in ways parallel to English 'was' and 'were', for example:

[stə́ṛay wəm.] ستړی وم.
tired *be1S, pst imp* 'I was tired.'

[zə khā́n wəm.]	زه خان وم.
I khan *be1S, pst imp*	'I was a khān.'
[duy khapá wə.]	دوی خپه وو.
they unhappy *be3P, pst imp*	'They were unhappy.'
[laylā staṛe ná wa?]	لیلا ستړې نه وه؟
Layla tired *neg be3SF, pst imp*	'Wasn't Layla tired?'

When past perfective forms of *be* are used, they translate as 'became', as can be seen in the following:

[stə́ṛay swəm.]	ستړی سوم.
tired *be1S, pst perf*	'I became tired.'
[zə khā́n swəm.]	زه خان سوم.
I khan *be1S, pst perf*	'I became a khān.'
[duy khapá swə.]	دوی خپه سوو.
they unhappy *be3P, pst perf*	'They became unhappy.'
[laylā staṛe ná swa?]	لیلا ستړې نه سوه؟
Layla tired *neg be3SF, pst perf*	'Didn't Layla get tired?'

The Past Imperfective Tense. The past imperfective tense consists of the past imperfective form of the verb plus the past tense personal endings. This tense parallels the present imperfective, in that any given construction is ambiguous, and can be translated as the English past continuous, e.g. 'I was studying', or as a past habitual, e.g., 'I used to study'. For example:

[saṛi ṭol pə melá ke gaḍedəl.]	سړی ټول په مېله کې ګډېدل.
men all at picnic at dance*pst imp3P*	

translates best as 'The men were all dancing at the picnic' if the context is a description, say, of a social event that the speaker attended, and translates best as

'The men all used to dance at picnics', if the context is a discussion of Pashtun culture.

Other examples are given below, with the most natural translations given the lack of context. Note that in the transitive sentences, the verb agrees with the object rather than the subject of the verb, and the subject is in the oblique case; this is the ergative construction which is described in detail in Chapter 11. In the examples below, the nouns the verbs agree with are shown with grammatical characteristics in the word-by-word glosses.

[laylā khpəle koranáy ta paysé legə́le.]
Layla own family to money*FP* send*3FP, pst imp*
ليلا خپلي كورنۍ ته پيسي لېږلي.
'Layla was sending money to her family.'

[tsapləy pə pexawər ke joṛedə́le.]
sandals*FP* in Peshawar in be made*3FP, pst imp*
څپلۍ په پېښور كي جوړېدلي.
'Sandals used to be made in Peshawar.'

[mājət ye joṛawə́.]
mosque*MS* they build*3MS, pst imp*
ماجت يي جوړاوه.
'They were building a mosque.'

[pohantún ta tləlu.]
university to go*1P, pst imp*
پوهنتون ته تللو.
'We were going to the university.'

[tāse asuna bāzar ta bowə́l?]
you-all horses*MP* bazaar to take*3MP, pst imp*
تاسي اسونه بازار ته بېوول؟
'Were you all taking the horses to the market?'

[mung pə wādúno ke nə́ gaḍedu.]
we*1P* at weddings at *neg* dance*1P, pst imp*
مونږ په ودونو كي نه گډېدو.
'We weren't dancing at weddings.'

[laylā pə de myāst ke lík kor ta nə́ legə.]
Layla in this month in letter*MS* home to *neg* send*3MS, pst imp*
ليلا په دي مياست كي ليك كور ته نه لېږه.
'Layla wasn't sending a letter home this month.'

[mā khpəle jāme nə́ joṛawəle.]
I own clothes*FP* *neg* sew*3FP, pst imp*
ما خپلي جامي نه جوړولي.
'I wasn't sewing my own clothes.'

[mung wāda ta ná tlu.] مونږ واده ته نه تلو.
we *1P* wedding to *neg* go *1P, pst imp* 'We weren't going to the wedding.'

[də khpəla koranəy pākistān ta ná bowa.] ده خپله کورنۍ پاکستان
he own family*FS* Pakistan to *neg* take*3SF, pst imp* ته نه بووه.
'He wasn't taking his family to Pakistan.'

[plār me bāgh nākhist.] پلار مې باغ ناخست.
father my orchard*MS* *neg* buy*3MS, pst imp* 'My father wasn't buying the orchard.'

The Past Perfective Tense. The construction which parallels English simple past tense, e.g., 'I went', 'he saw it', etc., is the past perfective tense, which is formed by adding the past tense personal endings to the past perfective stem of the verb. Again, the personal endings agree with the objects of transitive sentences, and the subjects of intransitive sentences. Examples of positives:

[laylā khpəle koranə́y ta payse wálegəle.] ليلا خپلې کورنۍ
Layla own family to money*FP* send*3FP, pst perf* ته پيسې ولېږلې.
'Layla sent money to her family.'

[xədze jóṛe swe.] ښځې جوړې شوې.
women*FP* recover *aux3FP, pst perf* 'The women recovered.'

[mājəd ye jóṛ kṛ.] ماجت يې جوړ کړ.
mosque*MS* they build *aux3MS, pst perf* 'They built a mosque.'

[pohantún ta laṛu.] پوهنتون ته لاړو.
university to go *1P, pst perf* 'We went to the university.'

[tāse asuna bāzár ta botlə?] تاسې اسونه بازر ته بوتله؟
you-all horses*MP* bazaar to take*3MP, pst perf* 'Did you all take the horses to the market?'

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Examples of negatives:

[ahmad wə ná gaḍedá.] احمد و نه گډېده.
Ahmad *prf neg* dance*3MS, pst perf* 'Ahmad didn't dance.'

[asad lik wə ná legə.] اسد لیك و نه لېږه.
Asad letter*MS prf neg* send*3MS, pst perf* 'Asad didn't send the letter.'

[wə nə gaḍedə.] و نه گډېده.
prf neg dance*3SM, pst perf* 'He didn't dance.'

[bāgh ye wā ná khistə.] باغ يې وا نه خسته.
orchard*MS* he *prf neg* buy*3SM, pst perf* 'He didn't buy the orchard.'

[de layla mor joṛa ná swa.] د لیلا مور جوړه نه شوه.
of Layla mother*FS* healthy *neg aux3FS, pst perf* 'Layla's mother didn't get better.'

[asad dewāl joṛ ná kṛə.] اسد دېوال جوړ نه کړه.
Asad wall*MS* build *neg aux3MS, pst perf* 'Asad didn't build a wall.'

[as ye bāzār ta bo ná tə.] اس یی بازار ته بو نه ته.
horse*MS* he market to take *neg*-take*3MS, pst perf*
'He didn't take the horse to market.'

[pākistān ta lāṛ ná swu.] پاکستان ته لاړ نه شوو.
Pakistan to go *neg aux1P, pst perf* 'We didn't go to Pakistan.'

[asad amān ta moṭar war ná kə.] اسد امان ته موټر ور نه کړ.
Asad Aman to car*MS* give *neg* give*3SM, pst perf*
'Asad didn't give Amān the car.'

"Perfect" Expressions. Pashto has constructions which nearly exactly correspond to the English "perfect" tenses, e.g., 'I have gone', 'I had gone', and 'I will have gone.' (In any reference to the English "perfect" tenses, the word "perfect" is in quotes to remind the reader that there is no relationship between the English "perfect" tenses and the Pashto perfective forms.) These very common Pashto constructions are formed with the imperfective participle of simple verbs, and the perfective participle of the derivative and doubly irregular verbs, and the imperfective forms of *be*. Below, a full paradigm of the present and past forms is given with a simple verb :

'dance' [gaḍeg-] - گډېږ (گډېدل)

'I have danced'	[gaḍedə́lay yəm]	گډېدلی یم
'you have danced'	[gaḍedə́lay ye]	گډېدلی یې
'he/she has danced'	[gaḍedə́lay da]	گډېدلی ده
'we have danced'	[gaḍedə́li yu]	گډېدلی یو
'you-all have danced'	[gaḍedə́li yāstəy]	گډېدلی یاستئ
'they have danced'	[gaḍedə́li di.]	گډېدلی دی
'I had danced'	[gaḍedə́lay wəm]	گډېدلی وم
'you had danced'	[gaḍedə́lay we]	گډېدلی وې
'he had danced'	[gaḍedə́lay wə]	گډېدلی وٚ
'she had danced'	[gaḍedəle wa]	گډېدلې وه
'we had danced'	[gaḍedə́li wu]	گډېدلی وو
'you-all had danced'	[gaḍedə́li wəy]	گډېدلی وئ
'they (m) had danced'	[gaḍedə́li wə]	گډېدلی وو
'they (f) had danced'	[gaḍedə́li we]	گډېدلی وې

The Pashto equivalent of the English future perfect is rendered in a construction comprising the future particle [ba] , the participle, and the present imperfective forms of *be* (with the 3rd person [wi] وی):

'I will have danced'	[zə ba gaḍedə́lay yəm]	زه به گډېدلی یم
'you will have danced'	[tə ba gaḍedə́lay ye]	ته به گډېدلی یې
'he will have danced'	[day ba gaḍedə́lay wi]	دی به گډېدلی وی
'we will have danced'	[mung ba gaḍedə́li yu]	مونږ به گډېدلی یو
'you-all will have danced'	[tāse ba gaḍedə́li yāstəy]	تاسې به گډېدلی یاستئ
'they will have have danced'	[dŭÿ ba gaḍedə́li wi]	دوی به گډېدلی وی

The following examples illustrate the "present perfect" and "past perfect" constructions. They also--by using a derivative verb formed from an adjective--show how the different elements of the participle construction agree with the object. ('house' [kor] کور is masculine; 'chair' [tsawkáy] څوکۍ is feminine). All these "perfect" tense constructions are past tense constructions, and therefore the verb of transitive sentences agrees with the object. Note that both the adjective segment, (i.e., [joṛ] جوړ) and the participle (i.e., [káṛay] کړی) agree.

Perfective participle + present tense *be*:

[tor kor joṛ káṛay da.]	تور کور جوړ کړی دی.
Tor house*MS* build*MS* *part3MS* *be3S*	'Tor has built a house.'
[tor koruna joṛ káṛi di.]	تور کورونه جوړ کړی دی.
Tor houses*MP* build*MP* *part3MP* *be3P*	'Tor has built houses.'
[tor tsawkay joṛa káṛe da.]	تور څوکۍ جوړه کړې ده.
Tor chair*FS* build*FS* *part3FS* *be3S*	'Tor has built a chair.'
[tor tsawkay joṛe kəṛí di.]	تور څوکۍ جوړې کړی ده.
Tor chairs*FP* build*FP* *part3FP* *be3P*	'Tor has built chairs.'

Perfective participle + past tense *be*

[tor kor joṛ káṛay wə.]	تور کور جوړ کړی وُ.
Tor house*MS* build*MS* *part3MS* *be3S*	'Tor had built a house.'
[tor koruna joṛ káṛi wə.]	تور کورونه جوړ کړی وو.
Tor houses*MP* build*MP* *part3MP* *be3P*	'Tor had built houses.'
[tor tsawkay joṛa káṛe wə.]	تور څوکۍ جوړه کړې وه.
Tor chair*FS* build*FS* *part3FS* *be3S*	'Tor had built a chair.'
[tor tsawkay joṛe káṛe we.]	تور څوکۍ جوړې کړې وې.
Tor chairs*FP* build*FP* *part3FP* *be3P*	'Tor had built chairs.'

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[ba] به + perfective participle + future *be*

[tor ba kor joṛ kəṛay wi.] تور به کور جوړ کړی وی.
Tor *fut* house*MS* build*MS* *part3MS* *be3S* 'Tor will have built a house.'

[tor ba koruna joṛ kəṛi wi.] تور به کورونه جوړ کړی وی.
Tor *fut* houses*MP* build*MP* *part3MP* *be3* 'Tor will have built houses.'

[tor ba tsawkəy joṛa kəṛe wa.] تور به څوکۍ جوړه کړې وه.
Tor *fut* chair*FS* build*FS* *part3FS* *be3S* 'Tor will have built a chair.'

[tor ba tsawkəy joṛe kəṛe we.] تور به څوکۍ جوړې کړې وې.
Tor *fut* chairs*FP* build*FP* *part3FP* *be3P* 'Tor will have built chairs.'

In negative constructions, the negative particle precedes the form of *be*, and the participle is moved to the end of the phrase:

[tor tsawkəy ná da joṛa kəṛe.] تور څوکۍ نه ده جوړه کړې.
Tor chair *neg be* build *aux, part* 'Tor hasn't built a chair.'

[asad me dwa wradze ná day lidəlay.] اسد مې دوه ورځې نه دی لیدلی.
Asad I two days *neg be* see, *part* 'I haven't seen Asad for two days.'

F. Expressions with Infinitives

Infinitives are formed by adding the past tense suffix [-ə́l] ل- to the past imperfective form of the verb, for example:

Verb:	*Infinitive:*
'dance' [gaḍég-] - ګډېږ	[gaḍedə́l] ګډېدل
'send' [leg-] - لېږ	[legə́l] لېږل
'buy' [akhl-] - اخل	[akhistə́l] اخستل
'get better' [joṛég-] - جوړېږ	[joṛedə́l] جوړېدل
'build' [joṛaw-́] - جوړو	[joṛawə́l] جوړول
'go' [dz-] -ځ	[tləl] تلل
'take' [byāy-] -بیای	[bowə́l] بول

Infinitives are masculine plural nouns, and have oblique forms with the usual plural oblique [-o] و- ending.

Citation Forms. The infinitive is used as the citation form for verbs in traditional Pashto grammatical studies, and therefore the form used when Pashtuns talk about particular verbs. In the example below, the infinitive is glossed as the English infinitive with *to*.

[bowəl ḍer grān fīl day.] بهول ډېر گران فعل دی.
to take very difficult verb is . '*bowəl* is a very difficult verb.'

Infinitives as Nouns. Another common use of infinitive constructions is as nouns, similarly to their use in English. In the examples below, the infinitives are again glossed as the English infinitive with *to*. Note how the verbs are plural in agreement with the subject infinitives.

[de gideṛe niwəl grā̃n di.] د گیدړې نیول گران دی.
of fox catch*inf* difficult *be3P* 'It is difficult to catch a fox.'

[de laylā katəl saṛay wázhni.] د لیای کتل سړی وژنی.
of Layla look*inf* man kill*3P* 'Layla's gaze kills a man.'

[tləl me stə́ṛay kawi.] تلل مې ستړی کوی.
go*inf* me tired *aux3P.* 'Traveling makes me tired.'

[wayəlo ta ye mə́gora, kawə́lo ta ye gora.] ویلو ته یې مه گوره،
talk*inf* to his don't look act*inf* to his look کولو ته یې گوره.
'Don't look at his words, look at his actions.'

[wayəl ná ghwārəm, kawə́l ghwārəm.] ویل نه غوارم، کول غوارم.
talk*inf* *neg* I want, do*inf* I want 'I don't want words, I want action.'

Passives. The infinitive is also used with the intransitive auxiliary [keg-] - کېږ in constructions that translate almost perfectly as English passives. For example:

[day wazəl kégi.]
he kill*inf aux3S, pres imp*
دی وژل کېږي.
'He's going to be killed.'

[as məlgári ta baxəl kegi.]
horse friend to give*inf aux3S, pres imp*
اس ملګري ته ببښل کېږي.
'[One's] horse is given [only] to friends.'

[pə pexawár ke njune təxtawəl kégi.]
in Peshawar in girls kidnap*inf aux3P, pres imp*
په پېښور کې نجونې
تښتول کېږي.
'Girls are kidnaped in Peshawar.'

[lalmi pə pesarlí ke karəl kégi.]
wheat in spring in plant*inf aux3S, pres imp*
للمي په پسرلي کې کرل کېږي.
'Wheat is planted in the spring.'

[saṛay pə bada wradz ke pezandəl kégi.]
man on bad day on know*inf aux3S, pres imp*
سړی په بده ورځ کې
پېژندل کېږي.
'A true man makes himself known in difficult times.'(a proverb)

Many traditional grammatical analyses of Pashto concluded that the past tense transitive sentences, in which the verb agrees with the object rather than the subject, are passives, and so the existence of an unequivocal passive construction provides evidence for considering the past tense transitive constructions as something other than passives.

G. Expressions of Ability

'can/be able to'. One of the most common uses of the perfective and imperfective participles is in constructions with the present and past perfective forms of *be*. These constructions are parallel in meaning to English 'can/be able to', 'will be able to' and 'could/was able to'.

The tense of *be* determines its agreement. In constructions with present tense *be* forms, the construction is considered to be in the present tense, so the *be* form agrees with the subject. In the constructions with past tense *be* forms, the *be* form agrees with the object if there is one, following the usual pattern for past tense constructions.

Note that the participial form is unchanging: it does not agree with either subject or object, and in the case of derivative verbs derived from adjectives, the adjectival part does not agree either.

Statements expressing ability in the present tense consist of the imperfective participle, followed by the present perfective form of *be*. Some examples:

[asad xə gaḍedə́lay si.] — اسد ښه گډېدلی شی.
Asad well dance*part* *be3S*
'Asad can dance very well.'

[laylā wos lik leg̣ə́lay si.] — لیلا اوس لیك لېږلی شه.
Layla now letter send*part* *be3S*
'Layla can send the letter now.'

[mung pə bāgh ke hár chera kenāstə́lay su.] — مونږ په باغ کې هر چېره کښېناستلی شو.
we in orchard in wherever sit*part* *be1P*
'We can sit anywhere in the orchard.'

[kor ta me bowə́lay se?] — کور ته مې بوولی شې؟
home to me take*part* *be2S*
'Can you take me home? '

In negative constructions, the participle must come at the end of the verb phrase. Examples:

[pohantun ta nə́ səy tləlay.] — پوهنتون ته نه شئ تللی.
university to *neg* *be* go*part*
'You can't go to the university.'

[bādrang lə nawroz na pə khwa nə́ səy karəlay.] — بادرنګ له نوروز نه پخوا نه شئ کرلی.
cucumber from Nawroz before *neg be* plant*part*
'You-all can't plant cucumbers before Nawroz.'

[kor alta nə́ se joṛawəlay.] — کور هلته نه شې جوړولی.
house there *neg be* build*part*
'You can't build a house there.'

Statements about future ability are formed with the future particle [ba] به, the perfective participle and the present perfective forms of *be*. Note the order of elements in the negative constructions. Some examples:

[asad ba xə wə́gaḍedəlay si.] اسد به ښه وګډېدلی شی.
Asad *fut* well dance*part* *be3S* 'Asad will be able to dance very well.'

[laylā ba lik sabā́ ta wə nə́ si legəlay.] ليلا به ليك سبا ته
Layla *fut* letter tomorrow *perf neg be3S* send*part* و نه شی لېږلی.
'Layla won't be able to send the letter tomorrow.'

[alta ba kor joṛ nə́ se kəṛay.] هلته به كور جوړ نه شې کړی.
there *fut* house build *neg* *be2S* *aux, part*
'You won't be able to build a house there.'

[mung ba pə bāgh ke har dzāy kénāstəlay su.] مونږ به په باغ كې هر
we *fut* in orchard in any place sit*part* *be1P* ځای کښېناستلی شو.
'We will be able to sit anywhere in the orchard.'

[tāse ba wrusta lə nawroza lalmi wə nə́ səy karəlay.]
you-all *fut* after from Nawroz wheat *neg be* plant *part*
تاسې به وروسته له نوروزه للمی و نه شئ كرلی.
'You-all won't be able to plant wheat after Nawroz.'

[kor ta ba me bótlay se?] كور ته به مې بوتلی شې؟
house to *fut* me take *part* *be2S* 'Will you be able to take me home?'

Ordinary past tense 'could'/'was able to' constructions consist of the perfective participle plus the past perfective forms of *be*. These statements carry the implication that the action that could be carried out actually was carried out. Examples:

[de asad plār pəkhwā ḍer xə wə́gaḍeday sə.]
of Asad father earlier very good dance*part* *be3MS*
د اسد پلار پخوا ډېر ښه وګډېدی شه.
'Asad's father was able to dance very well years ago.'

[laylā lik wálegəlay sə.] لیلا لیک ولېږلی شه.
Layla letter*MS* send*part* *be3MS* 'Layla could send the letter.'

[mung nən sahār pə bāgh ke har chera kénāstəlay swu.]
we today morning in orchard in any where sit*part* *be1P*
مونږ نن سهار په باغ کې هر چېره کښېناستلی شوو.
'We could sit anywhere in the orchard this morning, and did.'

[zə wə ná swəm gaḍedəlay.] زه و نه شوم گډېدلی.
I *prf neg be1S* dance*part* 'I couldn't dance.'

Some examples of negatives:

[pohantun ta ná swəy tləlay.] پوهنتون ته نه شوئ تللی.
university to *neg be2P* go*part* 'You-all couldn't go to the university.'

[bādrang lə nawroz na pəkhwa wə ná swəl karəlay.]
cucumber*MP* from Nawroz from before *perf neg be3MP* plant*part*
بادرنگ له نوروز نه پخوا و نه شول کرلی.
'You-all couldn't plant cucumbers before Nawroz.'

[mung pə bāgh ke her chera ná swü kenāstálay.]
we in orchard in any where *neg be1P* sit*part*
مونږ په باغ کې هر چېره نه شوو کښېناستلی.
'We weren't able to sit anywhere in the orchard.'

'might be able'. There are constructions using the past imperfective participle and the present and past perfective forms of *be* which translate roughly as 'might be able' or 'might have been able'. (Note that the combination of imperfective participle and present perfective form of *be* is unambiguously a definite 'can' statement, as described above; a parallel construction with the perfective participle is not used.) This construction with the imperfective participle usually occurs in conjunction with a conditional clause (often implied), and will be described in detail in Chapter 13; briefly, however, the difference between it and the construction described above is that the

imperfective participle + past perfective *be* construction does not carry the implication that the action is probable or was carried out. Contrast the following sentences:

[laylā ba lik sabā́ ta wálegəlay si.] لیلا به لیك سبا ته ولېگلی شی.
Layla *fut* letter tomorrow send, *perf part* *be3S*
'Layla will be able to send the letter tomorrow.'

[laylā ba lik sabā́ ta legə́lay si.] لیلا به لیك سبا ته لېگلی شی.
Layla *fut* letter tomorrow send, *imp part* *be3S*
'Layla might be able to send the letter tomorrow (if the post office is open).'

[mung tera hafta jwār wákaralay swa.] مونږ تېره هفته جوار وکرلی شوه.
we last week corn plant*perf part* *be3S*
'We were able to plant the corn last week (and did).'

[mung tera hafta jwār karə́lay swa.] مونږ تېره هفته جوار کرلی شوه.
we last week corn plant*imp part* *be3S*
'We might have been able to plant the corn last week
(if you had brought the seeds).'

H. Expressions of Obligation

Constructions with 'must' [de] دې*.* Expressions parallel to English expressions with 'must' are formed with the particle 'must' [de] دې, followed by the present imperfective tense of the verb. Some examples:

[asad de yawa baja rā́dzi.] اسد دې یوه بجه راځی.
Asad must one o'clock come*3S, pres imp*
'Asad must be here at one.'

[laylā de kor ta ná dzi.] لیلا دې کور ته نه ځی.
Layla must house to *neg* go*3S, pres imp*
'Layla must not go home.'

[tə de pə de pówe.] ته دې پدې پوه وې.
you must about this know*3S, pres imp*
'You must know this.'

Constructions with 'should' [bāyád] باید. The particle'should' [bāyád] باید followed by a verb in the present perfective tense combines in a construction parallel in meaning to English 'should'. Note that [bāyad] باید carries the same ambiguity that English 'should' does, e.g., 'You should [it's good for you] brush your teeth every day' as opposed to 'Asad should [will probably] be here any minute.' Examples:

[asad bāyad yawa baja rā̌si.] اسد باید یوه بجه راشی.
Asad should one o'clock come*3S, pres perf*
'Asad should be here at one.'/
'Asad will probably be here at one.'

[laylā bāyad kor ta lāṛa ná si.] لیلا باید کور ته لاړه نه شی.
Layla should house to go *neg* go*3S, pres perf*
'Layla shouldn't go home.'

[tə bāyad pə de po se.] ته باید پدې پوه شې.
you should about this know *aux2S, pres perf*
'You should know this.'

J. Summary: Forms and Uses

Below are summarized, by verb stem, the constructions described in previous sections of this chapter. Also included in the summary are characteristic English glosses for each construction, and the components of each construction in italics.

Simple *be* constructions ('I am/ I was/I became/I will be/be!/May you be)
- *Various tense forms of be*

Constructions with the present imperfective stem:
- Present imperfective tense ('I am going/I go.')
  - *pres. imp. stem + pres. personal endings*
- Ordinary negative commands ('Don't go.')
  - [mə] + *pres. imp. stem + 2S/2P endings*
- Future statements with time phrases ('I'm going tomorrow')
  - *time phrases + pres. imp. stem + pres. personal endings*
- Contrastive future (Will you be going?')
  - [ba] + *pres. imp. stem + personal endings*
- Intensive positive commands ('Go!')
  - *pres. imp. stem + 2S/2P command endings*
- Repeated action commands ('Keep going')
  - *pres. imp. stem + 2S/2P command endings*

Obligation expressions ('I must go')

[de] + *pres. imp. stem + personal endings*

Constructions with the present perfective stem:

Ordinary positive commands ('Go.')

pres. perf. stem + 2S/2P command endings

Constructions with the present perfective stem (cont.):

Future expressions ('I'll go.')

[ba] + *pres. perf. stem + personal endings*

'should' ('I should go')

[bayad] + *pres. perf. stem + pres. personal endings*

Constructions with the past imperfective stem:

Past imperfective tense: ('I was going/I used to go')

pst. imp. stem + [əl] *+pst. personal endings*

Infinitives ('to go')

pst. imp. stem + [-əl]

Passives ('It was built')

infinitive + aux [keg-] *in all tenses*

Constructions with the past perfective:

Past perfective tense ('I went')

pst. perf. stem + pst. personal endings

Constructions with perfective participles:

"Present perfect" ('I have gone')

perf. part. + pres. imp. forms of be

"Past perfect" ('I had gone')

perf. part. + pst. imp. forms of be

"Future perfect" ('I will have gone')

[ba] + *perf. part. + pres. imp. forms of be*

Statements of future ability ('I will be able to go')

[ba] + *perf. part. + pres. perf. forms of be*

Statements of past ability ('I was able to go')

perf. part. + pst. perf. forms of be

Constructions with imperfective participles:

Statements of present ability ('I can go')

imp. part. + pres. perf. forms of be

'might be able to' statements ('I might be able to go')

[ba] + *imp. part. + pres. perf. forms of be*

'might have been able to' ('I might have been able to go')

imp. part. + pst. perf. forms of be

K. Other Analyses

Analyses of Pashto verb constructions vary widely from one another. All analyses agree on the simple tenses (although they are called by different names) --the present imperfective and perfective tenses, and the past imperfective and perfective tenses--but there are different analyses of what is here called the perfective/ imperfective distinction. Much of the difference revolves around the analysis of the participles. This book posits a simple form--the participle--which is used in a variety of constructions, whereas other analysts combine descriptions of forms and constructions, resulting in more tenses, moods, etc., than the analysis here. Moreover, the particle [ba] به, besides functioning as the ordinary future marker, also occurs with nearly all ofthe tense/aspect combinations, and other analyses assign different grammatical names to the resulting meanings.

Shafeev (1964) posits two aspects (perfective and imperfective) six moods (indicative, imperative, subjunctive, reprehensive, conditional-optative, and conjectural), two voices (active and passive) , and three basic tenses (present, past, and future). The different moods correlate with the analysis here as follows:

indicative: present and future tenses, past tenses, "perfect" tenses with participles + imperfective *be* forms

reprehensive: 'ba' + participle + past imperfective*be*, described in (Chapter 13)

subjunctive: participle + perfective *be* forms

conditional/optative: participle constructions with conditionals, described in (Chapter 13)

conjectural: [ba] به + participle + imperfective *be*

Penzl (1955) posits two basic tenses - present and past - and suggests that these can be made future with the particle [ba] به. He distinguishes indicative, imperative, and optative moods, the latter all being constructions with the participle. He also distinguishes perfective and imperfective.

Mackenzie's (1987) analysis is from a historical point of view. He distinguishes two basic tense stems (present and past) and a series of derived constructions with the participle. He posits two stems for every verb corresponding to the perfective and imperfective stems of this analysis.

Chapter 10: Prepositions

A. Introduction

This chapter describes Pashto prepositions and prepositional phrases, which are phrases containing a preposition and a noun object of a preposition, as in English phrases like 'in the house', 'of my cousin', and 'towards the orchard'. Pashto has

pre-positions: prepositions like English prepositions which occur before the noun in the phrase;

post-positions, which ocur after the noun in the phrase; and

pre-post positions or ambipositions, which consist of two or more elements, the first of which occurs before the noun in the phrase, and the latter of which occurs after the noun in the phrase.

In this analysis and in other chapters we call all of these "prepositions" except when discussing the different orderings among the pre-, post-, and pre-post-positions.

In the discussion below, the different types of prepositions just mentioned will be presented. The noun cases that occur with prepositions will then be discussed, and then some special cases, and some common phrases which utilize different prepositions.

The section on uses of prepositions includes some constructions, notably the comparative and superlative, in which prepositions play a major part.

B. The Pre-positions

There are only two pre-positions, but these are very frequently occurring words. One of them is 'of' [de] د: phrases with [de] د are the only way to express possession with nouns or strong pronouns:

[de asád] of Asad	د اسد 'Asad's'
[de asad plắr] of Asad father	د اسد پلار 'Asad's father'
[de asad lắs] of Asad hand	د اسد لاس 'Asad's hand'

In the central dialect د is pronounced [di] before strong pronouns, e.g. [di mā] د ما. In the western dialect and others, د before pronouns is spelled and pronounced [z], for example [zmā] زما.

The other pre-position is [pə] په, which has several meanings. One of the meanings is the instrumental 'by means of', or 'with':

[pə chāṛə́]	په چاړه
with knife	'with/by means of a knife'
[asad pəṛay pə chāṛə prékəṛ.]	اسد پړی په چاړه پرې کړ.
Asad rope with knife cut	'Asad cut the rope with a knife.'

[pə] په is also used with number as 'at' in time expressions:

[pə yawá baja]	په یوه بجه
at one o'clock	'at one o'clock'

Yet another meaning of [pə] په is 'at, on, in', and is described below in the discussion of the pre-post-position [pə ... bānde] په ... باندې.

C. Post-positions

There is only one common post-position that we know of: the dative post-position 'to' [... ta] ته :

[bāzā́r ta]	بازار ته
market to	'to the market'
[bāzā́r ta dzə́m.]	بازار ته ځم.
market to I'm going	'I'm going to the market.'

D. Pre-post-positions

Most prepositions have two elements, with the noun object positioned between the elements. The first element of these pre-post-positions is one or the other of [pə] په,

[lə] له , or [tər] تر. The second element of a pre-post-position is likely to be one of the following words:

[na] نه
[sará] سره
[lānde] لاندې
[ke] كې
[pəsé] پسې
[bānde] باندې
[póre] پورې
[tsákha] څخه

Here are some of the commonest pre-post-positions:

	Pre-post-position:	Example:
'in, at'	[pə ... ke] په ... كې	'in Kabul' [pə kābəl ke] په كابل كې
'after'	[pə ... pəse] په ... پسې	'after class' [pə dárs pəsé] په درس پسې
'on/to'	[pə ... bānde] په ... باندې	'on the bridge' [pə plá bānde] په پله باندې
'with'	[lə ... sara] له ... سره	'with Asad' [lə asád sará] له اسد سره
'from'	[lə ... na] له ... نه	'from Layla' [lə laylā́ na] له ليلې نه
'under'	[lə ... lānde] له ... لاندې	'under the bridge' [lə plá lānde] له پله لاندې
'under'	[tər ... lānde] تر ... لاندې	'under the table' [tər méz lānde] تر مېز لاندې
'from'	[lə ... tsákha] له ... څخه	'from Logar' [lə logár tsákha] له لوگر څخه
'up to'	[tər ... a pore] تر ...ه پورې	'until morning' [tər sahā́ra póre] تر سهاره پورې

Deleted elements. One or the other element of a pre-post-position - most often the first - may be deleted. Phrases with [lə ... na] نه ... له, for example, can also appear with just [... na] نه ...:

[kitab me lə asád na wākhistə.]
book I from Asad from took.

كتاب مې له اسد نه واخسته.
'I took the book from Asad.'

[kitab me asád na wākhistə.]
book I Asad from took

كتاب مې اسد نه واخسته.
'I took the book from Asad.'

and phrases with [lə ... sara] سره ... له are also possible with just [... sara] سره ...:

[laylā lə amān sara nāsta da.]
Layla with Aman with is sitting

ليلا له امان سره ناسته ده.
'Layla is sitting with Aman.'

[laylā amā̆n sara nā̆sta da.]	لیلا امان سره ناست ده.
Layla Aman with is sitting	'Layla is sitting with Aman.'

In the case of the pre-post-position 'on/to' [pə ... bānde] په ... باندي, the second element is dropped more often than the first, resulting in phrases which superficially look like the phrases with the instrumental pre-position [pə] په, for example:

[kitāb pə méz bā̆nde yíxay da.]	کتاب په مېز باندي ایښی دی.
book on table on placed is	'The book is on the table.'
[kitāb pə mez yíxay da.]	کتاب په مېز ایښی دی.
book on table placed is	'The book is on the table.'

One context in which the first element of a pre-post-position must drop is when the object of the preposition is a weak pronoun, as can be seen in the following examples:

[asad pexawə́r ta wə́r sara dzi.]	اسد پېښور ته ور سره ځی.
Asad Peshawar to him with is going	'Asad is going to Peshawar with him.'
[kitāb me der na wā̆khistə.]	کتاب مي در نه واخسته.
book I you from took	'I took the book from you.'
[kitāb wər bānde íxay da.]	کتاب ور باندي ایښی دی.
book it on placed is	'The book is on it.'

E. Special Cases

'from' [lə ... na] له ... نه. When the noun in a phrase with 'from' [lə ... na] له ... نه ends in a consonant, the [n-] ن of the second element is frequently dropped, and the remaining [a] ه is attached to the preceding noun. The example sentence given above has the following alternative:

[kitab me lə asáda wā̆khistə.]	کتاب مي له اسده واخسته.
book I from Asad from took.	'I took the book from Asad.'

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[tər] تر. When the object of a pre-postposition whose first element is [ter] تر ends in a consonant, an [a] ه must be attached to that noun. (If the noun ends in a vowel, there is no attached [a] ه.) Here are examples with the pre-post-position 'up to', 'until' [tər ...(-a) pore] تر ...(-ه) پوري and the object 'morning' [sahār] سهاره which ends in a consonant, and 'tomorrow' [sabā] سبا which ends in a vowel:

[tər sahāra pore rā sara pāte sa.] تر سهاره پوري را سره پاتي شه.
until morning until us with stay 'Stay with us until morning.'

[tər sabā pore rā sara pāte sa.] تر سبا پوري را سره پاتي شه.
until tomorrow until us with stay 'Stay with us until tomorrow.'

Phrases with 'house' [kor] کور. The word 'house' [kor] کور has a special altered form-- [kára] کره --that may replace the entire prepositional phrase 'to the house' [kor ta] کور ته, but only if the possessor of the house is either understood from the context or overtly mentioned.

[de laylā kara dzə́m.] د ليلا کره ځم.
of Layla to-house I go 'I'm going to Layla's house.'

Pro forms. Certain preposition + 'him/her/it' [ye] يې combinations are always replaced with pro forms. Some examples: 'with him/her/it' *[pə ye] په يې never occurs, but is always replaced by the pro form 'with him/her/it' [pe] پې:

[stərge ye pe tore kṛe.] سترګې يې پې تورې کړې.
eyes she with-it blackened 'She mascaraed her eyes with it.'

and 'from it/him/her' *[lə ye tsəkha] له يې څخه also never occurs, but is always replaced by the pro form 'from it/him/her' [te] تې or [tre] ترې:

[kitāb me tre wākhist.] کتاب مې ترې واخست.
book I from-him took 'I took the book from him.'

A third pro form is [pə ke] پہ کې, which replaces the phrase *[pə ye ke] پہ یې کې:

[agha ḍer lóy kor da, tsok pə ke wosi?] هغه ډېر لوی کور دی،
that very big house is who in-it live څوك پہ کې اوسی؟
'That's a huge house. Who lives in it?'

F. Noun Cases with Prepositions

The nouns that occur in prepositional phrases are ordinarily in the oblique case. In the following sentence, the object of the preposition: is the F1 noun 'bowl' [kāsá] کاسہ, in its oblique singular form [kāsé] کاسې:

[pə kāsé ke wobə́ sta.] پہ کاسې کې اوبہ شتہ.
in bowl*OS* in water is 'There's water in the bowl.'

In some literary or formal usages, however, nouns that end in [-a] ـہ (i.e. the feminine nouns like 'bowl' [kasa]) may occur in direct case with some of the prepositions, mostly 'with' [pə] پہ and 'in' [pə ... ke] پہ ... کې:

[pə kāsá ke wobə́ sta.] پہ کاسہ کې اوبہ شتہ.
in bowl*DS* in water is 'There's water in the bowl.'

G. Prepositions in Phrases

A number of common phrases translate into English prepositional phrases, which in Pashto transparently consist of combinations of prepositional phrases and additional words. Some of them are listed below, with example sentences:

'before' [lə ... na pəkhwā̆] لہ ... نہ پخوا
(= 'from' [lə ... na] لہ ... نہ + 'before' [pəkhwā̆] پخوا)
[lə tā̆ na pəkhwā̆ rāghay.] لہ تا نہ پخوا راغی.
from you from before he-came 'He got here before you.'

'outside' [lə ... na bahár] له ... نه بهر

(= 'from' [lə ... na] له ... نه + 'outside' [bahár] بهر)

[lə kalā̆ na bahar wlā̆ṛ wə.] له کلا نه بهر ولاړ وُ.

from kala from outside standing was 'He was standing outside the kalā.'

'after' [wrusta lə ... (na)] وروسته له ... نه

(= 'after' [wrusta] وروسته + 'from' [lə ... na] له ... نه)

[wrusta lə mā̆ na rā̆ghay.] وروسته له ما نه راغی.

after from me from he came 'He got here after me..'

or

[wrusta lə mā rāghay.] وروسته له ما راغی.

after from me he came 'He got here after me..'

'without' [be lə ... na] بې له ... نه

(= 'without' [be] بې + 'from' [lə ... na] له ... نه)

[be lə tā̆ na me guzāra ná kegi.] بې له تا نه مې گوزاره نه کېږی.

without from you from I can't get along.

'I can't get along without you.'

'except for' [práta lə ... na] پرته له ... نه

(= 'except' [prata] پرته + 'from' [lə ... na] له ... نه)

[prata lə tā̆ na tsok ná pezanəm.] پرته له تا نه ځوك نه پېژنم.

except for you no one not I know 'Except for you I don't know anyone.'

In the phrases below that start with the possessive phrase [de] د plus noun, the possessive phrase can be substituted for with a weak possessive pronoun, which is located in the sentence according to the rules for particle placement which are discussed in Chapter 11. The first two phrases below give examples with weak pronouns.

'over/on top of' [de ... lə pāsa] د ... له پاسه

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'from top' [lə pāsa] له پاسه)

[mərghə de bāgh lə pāsa tér sə.] مرغه د باغ له پاسه تېر شه.

bird of garden over passed 'The bird passed over the garden.'

[mərghə ye lə pāsa ter sə.] مرغه یې له پاسه تېر شه.

bird its over passed 'The bird passed over it.'

'about' [de ... pə bārá ke] د ... په باره کې

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'on subject' [pə bāra ke] په باره کې)

[de asad pə bārá ke ghagegəm.] د اسد په باره کې غږېږم.

of Asad on subject on I'm talking 'I'm talking about Asad.'

[pə bārá ke ye ghagégəm.] په باره کې یې غږېږم.

on subject on his I'm talking 'I'm talking about him.'

'about' [de ... pə bāb] د ... په باب

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'on subject' [pə bāb] په باب)

[de asad aw tarisā pə bāb tsá waye?] د اسد او تریسا په باب څه وایې؟

of Asad and Theresa on subject what you say

'What do you think about Asad and Theresa?'

'instead of' [de ... pə dzāy] د ... په ځای

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'in place' [pə dzāy] په ځای)

[amān de asád pə dzay rāghálay day.] امان د اسد په ځای راغلی دی.

Aman of Asad in place has come "Aman has come instead of Asad.'

'in front of' [de ... pə mákh ke] د ... په مخ کې

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'in face' [pə mákh ke] په مخ کې)

[de dukān pə mákh ke wlāṛ wə.] د دوکان په مخ کې ولاړ وُ.

of shop in face in he was standing 'He was standing in front of the shop.'

'because of' [de ... lə amála] د ... له امله

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'with cause' [lə amála] له امله)

[di tā lə amála ná rādzi.] د تا له امله نه راځی.

of you with cause not he-comes 'He's not coming because of you.'

'like' [de ... pə shā̆n] په شان

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'with fashion' [pə shā̆n] په شان)

[yā̆r me de gwə́l pə shān day.] يار مي د گل په شان دی.

love my of flower with fashion is. 'My love is like a flower.'

'towards' [de ... pə lór] په لور

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'with direction' [pə lór] په لور)

[de logár pə lor wə́khwadzed.] د لوگر په لور وخوځېد.

of Logar with direction he-started-out 'He started out towards Logar.'

'like' [de ... pə tser] د ... په څېر

(= 'of' [de ...] د + 'with sort' [pə tser] په څېر)

[day di tā̆ pə tser day.] دی د تا په څېر دی.

he of you with sort is 'He is like you.'

H. Uses of Prepositional Phrases

In Pashto, prepositions are used as modifiers of noun phrases, verb phrases and whole sentences. Below, we describe some cases where Pashto differs from English in using prepositional phrases where English uses some other construction.

Indirect objects. In Pashto, there is no difference between an indirect object parallel to 'John' in the English sentence 'I gave John the book' and a phrase with the preposition 'to', e.g., 'I gave the book to John.' All such phrases are rendered in Pashto with the preposition 'to' [ta] ته and the appropriate object. Examples:

[mā kitāb asád ta rāwoṛ.] I book Asad to brought	ما کتاب اسد ته راووړ. 'I brought Asad the book.'
[lik wər ta wálwala.] letter him to read	لیك ور ته ولوله. Read him the letter.'

Comparatives. Comparative statements in Pashto parallel to English comparatives like 'Asad is taller than Aman' are formed with the preposition 'from' [lə ... na] له ... نه . Unlike English, the relevant adjective has no special form, except for two words borrowed from Persian--'better' [betár] بهتر and 'worse' [batár] بتر --which are directly equivalent to their English translations and are the only words in the language specific to comparisons. Some examples of comparisons:

[asad lə amān na jág day.] Asad from Aman from tall is	اسد له امان نه جګ دی. 'Asad is taller than Aman.'
[pexawar lə kābə́l na loy day.] Peshawar from Kabul from big is.	پېښور له کابل نه لوی دی. 'Peshawar is bigger than Kabul.'
[lə bekārí na kār xə́ da.] from without-work from work good is	له بېکاری نه کار ښه دی. 'To work is better than to be idle.'
[tə lə mā na batára ye.] you from me from worse are	ته له ما نه بتره يې. 'You're worse than I am.'

Comparisons with nouns parallel to English comparisons like 'Aman buys more books than Asad' are also formed with the preposition 'from' [lə ... na] له ... نه , and typically include the word 'more' [zyāt] زيات or 'less/few' [ləg] لږ . Examples:

[de amā̃n plār de asád lə plār na ləg bāghuna lari.]
of Aman father of Asad from father from few orchards has
د امان پلار د اسد له پلار نه لږ باغونه لري.
'Amān's father has fewer orchards than Asad's father.'

[amān la asád na ḍer zyāt kitābúna ákhli.]
Aman from Asad from many many books buys
امان له اسد نه ډېر زيات کتابونه اخلي.
'Aman buys a lot more books than Asad.'

Superlatives. There are three ways to make superlative statements parallel to English statements like 'Khoshal is the tallest boy in class.' The first possibility is a comparative statement with [lə ... na] نه ... له in which the object of the preposition is all-inclusive, for example:

[khoshāl pə sinf ke lə ṭolo aləkāno na jə́g day.] خوشحال په صنف کې له ټولو هلکانو نه جگ دی.
Khoshal in class in from all boys from tall is
'Khoshal is taller than all the boys in the class.'

[de tór as de ṭol kəli lə asuno na chaṭák day.]
of Tor horse of whole village from horses from fast is
د تور اس د ټول کلي له اسونو نه چټک دی.
'Tor's horse is faster than all the horses in the village.'

[day de pexawər lə ṭolo likwālāno na mashhúr day.]
he of Peshawar from all writers from famous is
دی د پېښور له ټولو لېکوالانو نه مشهور دی.
'He is better known than all the writers in Peshawar.'

A second way to express superlatives is to include the adverb 'very' [ḍer] ډېر before the adjective in question. Such sentences are ambiguous. For example:

[khoshāl pə sinf ke ḍer jəg alák day.] خوشحال په صنف کې ډېر جگ هلک دی.
Khoshal in class in very tall boy is
'Khoshal is a very tall boy in class.' or
'Khoshal is the tallest boy in class.'

[de tór as pə ṭol káli ke ḍer chaṭak ás day.] د تور اس په ټول کلي کې ډېر چټک اس دی.
of Tor horse in village in very fast horse is
'Tor's horse is the fastest horse in the village.' or
'Tor's horse is a very fast horse in the village.'

[day pə pexawə́r ke ḍer mashhur likwā̃l day.]
he in Peshawar in very famous writer is
دی په پېښور کې ډېر
مشهور ليکوال دی.
'He is the most well-known writer in Peshawar.' or
'He is a very well-known writer in Peshawar.'

To disambiguate the type of sentence above, the subject can be moved out of position to just before the verb. Such sentences are unambiguously superlative.

[pə sinf ke ḍér jəg alək khoshā̃l day.]
in class in very tall boy Khoshal is
په صنف کې ډېر جګ هلك
خوشحال دی.
'Khoshal is the tallest boy in class.'

[pə kəli ke ḍér chaṭak as de tor ás day.]
in village in very fast horse of Tor horse is
په کلی کې ډېر چټك اس
د تور اس دی.
'Tor's horse is the fastest horse in the village.'

[pə pexawər ke ḍer mashhur likwā̃l dáy day]
in Peshawar in very famous writer he is
په پېښور کې ډېر
مشهور ليکوال دی دی.
'He is the most well-known writer in Peshawar.'

J. Other Analyses

Penzl (1955) lists some of the prepositions, grouping them with particles. His lists are similar to the ones here, with minor differences probably attributable to dialectal variation. Penzl postulates a second oblique case in nouns, which occurs only with objects of the prepositions [lə] له and [ter] تر , and only when the noun in question ends in a consonant.

Shafeev (1964) divides the prepositions into pre- and post-positions, and lists some prepositions and their Russian counterparts.

Mackenzie (1987) does not discuss prepositions.

Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

A.. Introduction

This chapter describes the structure of simple sentences, i.e. sentences with only one verb. First, the order of major elements in sentences and questions is described, and the conditions under which some of these elements are deleted. Then, the structure of noun phrases is described, including nouns, pronouns, and adjective and prepositional phrase modifiers. Next, the order of verbs and their modifiers in positive and negative verb phrases is described, then the Pashto particles or clitics, along with their placement in sentences and their internal order. Then, the order of modifiers in sentences is shown, and the construction and use of time phrases. A summary of agreement rules is presented next, then a discussion of the Pashto ergative construction. The chapter concludes with a presentation of some unusual constructions.

B. Basic Word Order

SOV order. The basic word order of a Pashto sentence is subject - object - verb (SOV), as opposed to English, in which the basic order is subject - verb - object (SVO). Some examples are given below, with the basic elements identified:

[asad lík légi.]
S O V
Asad letter send

اسد لیك لېږی.

'Asad is sending the letter.'

[plār me yaw loy bāgh ákhli.]
S O V
father my a big orchard is buying

پلار مي يو لوی باغ اخلی.

'My father is buying a big orchard.'

[ta tsá kār kawe?]
S O V
you what work do

ته څه کار کوي؟

'What work do you do?'

Many sentences, of course, are intransitive and do not have objects. In this case in both Pashto and English the order is subject (S) -verb (V). Note, however, that in

Pashto all modifiers precede the verb (making the verb the last element in the sentence), whereas in English most of the verbal modifiers follow the verb, for example:

[de aman koranay pə kābə́l ke woségi.]
S modifier V
of Aman family in Kabul in lives

د امان کورنۍ په کابل
کې اوسېږي.
'Aman's family lives in Kabul.'

[ahmad ba sabā́ de logar pə lor wə́khwadzegi.]
S modifiers V
Ahmad *fut* tomorrow of Logar in direction starts

احمد به سبا د لوګر په
لور وخوځېږي.
'Ahmad will start
for Logar tomorrow.'

The verb is also the last element in sentences with *be*. As in all Indo-European languages, Pashto sentences with *be* verbs are intransitive. Phrases that follow the *be* verb are complements, not direct objects. (Complements are phrases that futher define the subject, and can be noun phrases, adjectives or question words.) Some examples of *be* sentences, with the complements labelled:

[laylā de amān xə́dza da.]
S *complement* V
Layla of Aman wife *be3FS*

ليلا د امان ښځه ده.
'Layla is Aman's wife.'

[khoshāl ḍer khapá day.]
S *complement* V
Khoshal very unhappy *be3MS*

خوشحال ډېر خپه دی.
'Khoshal is very unhappy.'

[mor me chéra da?]
S *complement* V
mother my where *be3FS*

مور مې چېره ده؟
'Where is my mother?'

Deletion of subjects and objects. Under predictable circumstances, subjects and objects are deleted. One of those circumstances is in imperative sentences – those whose verbs end in the imperative [-a] ه- or [-ay] ئ-. In imperative sentences, the predictable second person singular or plural 'you' subject is deleted, as it is in English.

Examples:

[wə́daregəy!] ودرېږئ!
V
wait *pl* 'Wait!'

[moṭar tər sabā́ pore mā́khla.] موټر تر سبا پوري ماخله.
O *modifiers* V
car until tomorrow until don't buy 'Don't buy the car until tomorrow.'

Another predictable circumstance under which subjects or objects are deleted is in the case of weak pronouns. In present tense sentences and past tense intransitive sentences, weak pronoun subjects are deleted (unless they are focussed on, in which case strong pronouns which don't delete are used). The information carried by the weak pronoun (i.e. the person and number of the pronoun) is to a greater or lesser extent carried by the verb endings. Examples:

[kitāb ákhləm.] كتاب اخلم.
O V
book buy*1S* 'I'm buying a book.'

[kor ta dzī.] كور ته ځی.
modifier V
house to go*3S* 'He's going home.'

[tər sahā́ra pore wə́gaḍedəm.] تر سهاره پوري وگډېدم.
modifier V
until morning until danced*1S* 'I danced until morning.'

In past tense transitive sentences, weak pronoun objects delete; in this case as well, the identity of the pronoun is recoverable from the verb ending. Past tense transitive sentences are described in detail in Section H below.

[asad parun wə́katəlu.] اسد پرون وکتلو.
S *modifier* V
Asad yesterday saw*1P* 'Asad saw us yesterday.'

[pə bāzār ke mo wākhista.]	په بازار کې مو واخسته.
modifier S V	
at market at we bought it*3MS*	'We bought it at the market.'

Word order in questions. There is no difference in word order between statements and questions. Yes-no questions (Those that can be answered by a simple 'yes' or 'no') are differentiated from statements solely by the rise of the voice at the end of the sentence, directly parallel to the way the English statement "John's a poet" can be made into the question "John's a poet? (I'd never have believed it)". Whereas English questions like these are used to express suprise or get clarification, in Pashto it is the only way to form yes-no questions. Examples:

[amān shaír day.]	امان شاعر دی.
Aman poet is	'Aman is a poet.'
[amān shaír day?]	امان شاعر دی؟
Aman poet is?	'Is Aman a poet?'

Question-word questions (those with words parallel to English 'who', 'what', 'when', 'where, 'which', 'why' and 'how') are differentiated from statements by positioning the appropriate question word in its ordinary position in the sentence. The intonation stays the same as for statements. In the examples below, a sentence with a noun or other word in one position or another, followed by a parallel question in which the noun has been replaced with a question word. The phrases and their question-word replacements are underlined in the transcription:

'what' [tsə] څه

[asad kár kawi.]	اسد کار کوی.
Asad work does	'Asad is working.'
[asad tsə́ kawi?]	اسد څه کوی؟
Asad what does	'What is Asad doing?'

'who' [tsok] ځوک (direct)/ [chā] چا (oblique)

[laylā chaláw pakhawi.]	لیلا چلو پخوی.
Layla rice cooks	'Layla is cooking the rice.'
[tsók chalaw pakhawi?]	ځوک چلو پخوی؟
who rice cooks	'Who is cooking the rice?'
[ágha de laylā kitāb day.]	هغه د لیلا کتاب دی.
that of Layla book is	'That's Layla's book.'
[ágha de chā́ kitāb day?]	هغه د چا کتاب دی؟
that of who book is	'Whose book is that?'

'where' [chéra] چېره/[chérta] چېرته

[bāzā́r ta dzi.]	بازار ته ځی.
market to he goes	'He's going to the market.'
[chéra/chérta dzi?]	چېره/چېرته ځی؟
where he goes	'Where is he going?'

'which' [kum] کوم (Adj 1)

[ágha moṭar akhli.]	هغه موټر اخلی.
that car he buys	'He's buying that car.'
[kúm moṭar akhli?]	کوم موټر اخلی؟
which car he buys	'Which car is he buying?'

'when' [tsə wakht] څه وخت

[māxā́m rāghay.]	ماښام راغی.
afternoon he arrived	'He arrived at dusk.'
[tsə́ wakht rāghay?_]	څه وخت راغی؟
what time he arrived	'When did he arrive?'

'what time' [tso bajo] څو بجو ('clock' [bajá] بجه is an F1 noun)

[ghwənḍə pə yawá baje shuro kégi.]	غونډه په یوې بجې شروع کېږی.
meeting at 8 clocks start	'The meeting starts at eight.'

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[ghwanḓa pa tsó bajo shuro kegi?]
meeting at how many clocks start
غونډه په څو بجو
شروغ کېږي؟
'What time does the meeting start?'

C. Noun Phrases

Order of elements. Noun phrases comprise a noun or a pronoun, together with modifiers that may be adjectives, prepositional phrases, or whole sentences (i.e., relative clauses, which are described in Chapter 13). For example, the following noun phrase consists of the noun 'car' [moṭar] موټر with two modifiers: the prepositional phrase 'of Asad' [de asad] د اسد, and the adjective 'new' [naway] نوی:

[de asad náway moṭar]
of Asad new car
د اسد نوی موټر
'Asad's new car'

Adjective and prepositional phrase modifiers generally precede the noun they modify. As will be seen in Section E below, however, weak possessive pronouns may either precede or follow the nouns they modify, and their position is determined by rules which work on the entire sentence.)

Noun phrases function as subjects, complements, objects, or objects of prepositions:

As subject:
[de asad náway moṭar ḓer grăn day.]
of Asad new car very expensive is
د اسد نوی موټر
ډېر گران دی.
'Asad's new car is very expensive.'

As complement:
[agha spin moṭar de asád naway moṭár day.]
that white car of asad new car is
هغه سپین موټر د اسد
نوی موټر دی.
'That white car is Asad's new car.'

As direct object:
[laylā de asad naway moṭar răwust.]
Layla of Asad new car here brought
لیلا د اسد نوی موټر راوست.
'Layla brought Asad's new car.'

As object of preposition:

[de asad pa náwi moṭar ke dzu.] د اسد په نوی موټر کې ځو.
of Asad in new car in we go 'We're going in Asad's new car.'

Note, in this last example, that the possessive phrase with [de] د precedes the prepositional phrase in which it is embedded. Examples with other prepositions include:

[de asad lə náwi moṭár na] د اسد له نوی موټر نه
of Asad from car from 'from Asad's new car'

[de asad pə chāqú] د اسد په چاقو
of Asad with knife 'with Asad's knife'

[de asad tər bǎgha pore] د اسد تر باغه پورې
of Asad up to garden up to 'up to Asad's garden'

Order of modifiers in noun phrases. Ordinarily, any possessive phrase with [de] د is the first element in a string of modifiers. The possessive phrase is followed by any demonstrative (e.g., 'that' [ágha] هغه, 'this' [dā] دا, etc.), then any quantifier (e.g., a number - including 'one' [yaw], which frequently functions like the English indefinite article 'a' - or a word like 'some' [bǎze] بعضې or 'a few' [yaw tsə́] یو څه), then descriptive adjectives like 'big' [loy] لوی or 'pretty' [xāysta] ښایسته, then the noun. Adverbs that modify adjectives, e.g. 'very' [ḍer] ډېر, occur immediately before the adjectives they modify. This order may be violated when the speaker wishes to focus on one or the other of the modifiers: the emphasized element tends to come first.

Here are some example phrases displaying modifier order:

[de asád agha pindzə́ nor ḍer loy kitābúna] د اسد هغه پنځه نور
of Asad those five other very big books ډېر لوی کتابونه
'those other five very big books of Asad's'

[de asad de plǎr tsalór ḍere xāystá luṇe] د اسد د پلار څلور ډېرې
of Asad of father four very pretty daughters ښایسته لوڼې
'Asad's father's four very pretty daughters'

[pə kəli ke de tor de tarikh de xowúnki de máshər wror xāysta kor]
in village in of Tor of history of teacher of older brother beautiful house
په کلی کې د تور د تاریخ د ښوونکی د مشر ورور ښایسته کور
'Tor's history teacher's older brother's beautiful house in the village'

[de maktab de shāgərdā̆no de dárs de dawre de wákht lə khwaxəy na ḍáka yāduna]
of school of students of study of period of time from happiness from full memories
د مکتب د شاګردانو د درس د دورې د وخت له خوښۍ نه ډکه یادونه
'memories full of happiness of the time period of students' studying at school'

Noun phrases within prepositional phrases contain elements in the same order as subject or object noun phrases, with the exception of possessive phrases with [de] د, which appear before the whole prepositional phrase:

[de asád de plā̆r la tsaloro ḍero xāysta lúṇo sara]
of Asad of father with four very pretty daughters with
د اسد د پلار له څلورو ډېرو ښایسته لونو سره
'with Asad's father's four very pretty daughters'

D. Verb Phrases

Order of elements in verb phrases. The usual order of elements in a verb phrase (which includes everything in the sentence except the subject) is time phrase - complement/object - place phrase - other modifiers - verb. Note that if the object of a preposition is a weak pronoun, the prepositional phrases is almost always positioned just before the verb. Examples:

[parun me lə məlgəro sara pə rasturān ke kabāb wəkhwṛ.]
yesterday I with friends with in restaurant in kabob ate
پرون مې له ملګرو سره په رستوران کې کباب وخوړ.
'I ate kebob at the restaurant with my friends yesterday'

[parun me pə rasturān ke kabāb wər sara wəkhwṛ.]
yesterday I in restaurant in kabob them with ate
پرون مې په رستوران کې کباب ور سره وخوړ.
'I ate kebob at the restaurant with them yesterday'

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Order in negative verb phrases. The order of negative elements in the verb phrase is described in detail Chapter 9. In summary, the negative particle [nə] نه occurs before the verb in the imperfective tenses. In perfective tenses it occurs with simple verbs between the perfective marker [wə] و and the verb stem; with derivative verbs just before the auxiliary; and with doubly irregular verbs between the first element and the rest of the verb. Some examples of negative perfectives:

[zə ba lik wə nálegəm.] I fut letter prf neg I send	زه به لیك و نه لېږم. 'I won't send the letter.'
[zə ba chalaw pokh ná kṛəm.] I fut rice cook neg I 'be'	زه به چلو پوخ نه کړم. 'I won't cook the rice.'
[zə ba dəlta ke nánəm.] I fut here sit neg I sit	زه به دلته کښې نه نم. 'I won't sit here.'

E. Particles

The particles. Next to the ergative construction, particles and their order are probably the most famous--or infamous--aspect of Pashto grammar. The particles, sometimes called clitics, are the following:

'but, well, then, at least, maybe' [kho] خو

Future marker [ba] به

Weak pronouns 'my/me' [me] مي, 'your/you' [de] دې, 'his/him,her, its/it'[ye] يې,

'our/us' [am], [mo] مو

'must' [de] دې

These particles are invariably positioned immediately after the first stressed element in a sentence or clause, and when there is more than one particle in a sentence or clause, they must appear in a fixed order. These two factors in many cases result in the separation of a modifier from the modified element, in other cases in the "violation" of the usual SOV order in sentences, and in many other cases in ambiguous sentences.

The first stressed element in a sentence. The first stressed element in a sentence may be one of a number of grammatical elements, ranging from the first part of a doubly irregular verb to a construction of several words. The sentences below illustrate this point, using the weak pronoun 'my' [me] مې as a possessive in the basic phrase 'my father' [plār me] پلار مې, or in object position. Note how the position of [me] مې is determined not by its function in the sentence, but by its having to follow the first stressed element.

Subject as first stressed element:

[khoshal khān me plār day.]	خوشحال خان مې پلار دی.
Khoshal Khan my father is	'Khoshal Khan is my father.'
[de plār kalā me pә logár ke da.]	د پلار کلا مې په لوگر کې ده.
of father kala my in Logar in is	'My father's *kala* is in Logar.'
[asád me lә plār sara gori.]	اسد مې له پلار سره گوری.
Asad my with father with sees	'Asad is visiting with my father.'

Direct object as first stressed element:

[plār me byáyәm.]	پلار مې بیایم.
father my I bring	'I am bringing my father.'
[de plār bāgh me ákhli.]	د پلار باغ مې اخلی.
of father orchard my he buys	'He is buying my father's orchard.'

Prepositional phrase as first stressed element:

[lә plār sara me nāst yәm.]	له پلار سره مې ناست یم.
with father with my sitting I am.	'I am sitting with my father.'
[wrusta lә plār na me rāghay.]	وروسته له پلار نه مې راغی.
after father from my he arrived	'He arrived after my father.'

Adverb as first stressed element:

[kála kәla me plār amrikā ta rādzi.]	کله کله مې پلار امرېکا ته راځی.
sometimes my father America to comes	'Sometimes my father comes to America.'
[nán me melé ta byayi.]	نن مې مېلې ته بیایی.
today me picnic to he takes	'Today he's taking me to a picnic.'

[ná me pézani.]	نه مي پېژني.
not me he knows	'He doesn't know me.'

Verb as first stressed element:

[rā́lega me.]	رالېږه مي.
sent it here they	'I was sending it here.'
[sātá me.]	ساته مي.
kept it I	'I was keeping it.'

Part of verb as first stressed element:

[wá me pezānda.]	و مي پېژانده.
perf I knew him	'I recognized him.'
[ā́ me khistá.]	ا مي خسته.
I wore it	'I wore it.'
[bā́y me lodá.]	بای مي لوده.
I lost it	'I lost it.'

Order of particles among themselves. As mentioned above, another characteristic of the particles is that when there is more than one of them in the same sentence, there is a strict internal order among them which overrides their grammatical positioning in the sentence. The order is as follows:

[kho] خو + [ba] به + [me] مي /[mo] مو + [de] دي + [ye] يي

The internal order of particles, and the ambiguity that arises from the rigid ordering, is shown by the idiomatic translations of the following sentence:

[plā́r me de légi.]	پلار مي دي لېږي.
father me/my? you/your? send	'My father is sending you.' or 'Your father is sending me.'

Two occurrences of words which are pronounced identically are not possible, even if the words have different meanings (as they do in the case of the word [de] دې, which may be interpreted as either the particle 'must' or the weak pronoun 'your/you'). The following sentence is therefore ungrammatical:

*[plắr me de de wálegi.] *پلار مې دې دې ولېږی.
father me/my must your/you send
'My father must send you' or
'Your father must send me.'

The only way to express these meanings is by using strong pronouns:

[plắr me de tā wálegi.] پلار مې دې تا ولېږی.
father my must you send
'My father must send you.'

[di tā plắr me de wálegi.] د تا پلار مې دې ولېږی.
of you father me must send
'Your father must send me.'

The ambiguity that stems from the rigid order of particles is seldom a problem, as the context in which multiple particles appear nearly always contain enough information to convey the meaning unambiguously. In those cases where ambiguity is a problem, it is resolved with the use of a strong pronoun.

F. Order of Modifiers in Sentences

As described in previous sections, there is a normal order of major elements in a sentence (SOV), a normal order within the noun and verb phrases in a sentence as well, and an internal order among particles which occasionally overrides the other orders. As in English and other languages, however, it is possible for a Pashto speaker to emphasize or place focus on one element of a sentence or another, by placing it out of order. The following sentence, for example, is in normal order, and no one element is focused on over another:

[ahmad sabắta laylắ logár ta byáyi.] احمد سباته لیلا لوګر ته بیایی.
Ahmad tomorrow Layla Logar to takes
'Ahmad is taking Layla to Logar tomorrow.'

If context requires that the time be focused on, it can be brought to the beginning of the sentence:

[sabā̆ta ahmad laylā̆ logar ta byayi.] سباته احمد لیلا لوگر ته بیایی.
tomorrow Ahmad Layla Logar to takes
'Tomorrow, Ahmad is taking Layla to Logar.'

The movement of a modifier up to the beginning of a sentence for focus appears to be a common device among writers. The following illustrative sentences are taken from pieces of modern prose (the pre-posed modifiers are underlined in the transcription):

[amdágha wakht zə de yawā̆ze pə maʔnā̆ pó shwəm.] [1]
that time I of "alone" with meaning understood
همدغه وخت زه د "یوازې" په معنا پوه شوم.
'At that time, I understood the meaning of "alone".'

[pə dero gaṇo khálko ke həm saṛay dzā̆n ta "yawā̆ze" wayə́lay shi.]
in very many people in also man self to 'alone' can say
په ډېرو گنو خلکو کې هم سړی ځان ته "یوازې" ویلی شی.
'In a great crowd of people, a man can say that he is "alone".'

[lə nāchārə́y ye de noro nāqelino pə tsér samlāsi dzməka zhawə́ra kṛa.][2]
with desperation he of other settlers like immediately earth dug hole
له ناچارۍ یې د نورو ناقېلینو په څېر سملاسي ځمکه ژوره کړه.
'In desperation, he like the other settlers immediately dug a hole in the earth.'

[pə der taklíf mo wux khlā̆s kəṛay shu.]
with much difficulty we camel have freed
په ډېر تکلیف مو اوښ خلاص کړی شو.
'With a lot of trouble, we freed the camel.'

Time phrases. Time phrases may take the form of nouns, adverbs, or prepositional phrases.

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[1] This sentence and the one below are from the essay 'Alone' [yawā̆ze] یوازې by Ulfat, a well-known modern Pashto writer. The essay has been reprinted a number of times.

[2] This sentence and the one below are from 'The Legs of the Camel' [de wux pəxa] د اوښ پښې, an article by M. Pasanay that appeared in the November, 1985 issue of *Spede*, (pp. 91-2).

Frequently occurring noun phrases are the days of the week. The terms for all the days except Friday (which is an Arabic borrowing) are transparently formed from the Persian word for 'day' and the Persian numbers. The terms for Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday are written as two words in Pashto.

'Saturday'	[shambé]	شنبې
'Sunday'	[yakshambé]	یکشنبې
'Monday'	[du shambé]	دو شنبې
'Tuesday'	[se shambé]	سه شنبې
'Wednesday'	[chār shambé]	چهار شنبې
'Thursday'	[panshambé]	پنحشنبې
'Friday'	[jumá]	جمعه

The day words may occur alone, for example:

[mung shambé melé ta dzu.]
we Saturday picnic to go

مونږ شنبې مېلې ته ځو.
'We're going on a picnic Saturday.'

More frequently they are combined with the word for day in general, [wradz] ورځ , as follows:

[mung de shambé pa wradz melé ta dzu.]
we of Saturday on day picnic to go

مونږ د شنبې په ورځ
مېلې ته ځو.
'We're going on a picnic Saturday.'

Pashto has a series of words to refer to traditional times of day:

'morning'	[sahār]	سهار
'late morning'	[tsāxt/tsāxt mahāl]	څاښت/ څاښت مهال
'noon'	[ghārmá]	غرمه
'afternoon'	[māspaxín]	ماسپښين
'late afternoon'	[māzdigár]	مازديگر
'dusk'	[māxām]	ماښام
'late evening'	[māskhutān]	ماسختن
'midnight'	[níma shpa]	نيمه شپه

These words may occur as modifiers:

[mung māspəxin melé ta dzu.] مونږ ماسپښين مېلې ته ځو.
we afternoon picnic to go 'We're going on a picnic this afternoon.'

or they may be combined with the day words:

[mung de shambé pə māspəxín melé ta dzu.] مونږ د شنبې په
we of Saturday on afternoon picnic to go ماسپښين مېلې ته ځو.
'We're going on a picnic Sunday afternoon.'

Pashto expresses Western time-telling with the prepositional phrase consisting of 'on/at' [pə] په, the word 'hour' or 'clock' [bajá] بجه as the object of [pə] په, preceded by a number, and other word-and-number combinations to express 'before' and 'after'. Some examples that show the system are given below:

[pə tsaloro bajó] په څلورو بجو
at four hours 'at four o'clock'

[pə pindzə bānde tsaloro bajo] په پنځه باندې څلورو بجو
at five after four hours 'at five minutes after four'

[pə pāw bānde tsaloro bajo] په پاو باندې څلورو بجو
at quarter after four hours 'at quarter after four'

[pə tsalor nímo bajo] په ځلور نیمو بجو.
at four half hours 'at four thirty'

[pə pāw kám pindzo bajo] په پاو کم پنځو بجو
at quarter lacking five hours 'at quarter to five'

[pə pindzə kám pindzo bajo] په پنځه کم پنځو بجو
at five lacking five hours 'at five minutes to five'

Some examples showing time phrases in complete sentences are:

[de laylā məlgáre pə tsalor nímo bajo rādzí.] د لیلا ملګرې په ځلور
of Layla friend at four half o'clock comes نیمو بجو راځی.
'Layla's friend is coming here at four thirty.'

[asad sabā sahār pə atə nímo bajo maydān ta dzi.]
Asad tomorrow morning at eight half o'clock airport to goes
اسد سبا سهار په اته نیمو بجو میدان ته ځی.
'Asad is going to the airport tomorrow morning at eight thirty.'

[kānferāns de jumé pə wradz de sahār pə nə́ho bajo payl kégi.]
conference of Friday on day of morning at nine o'clock starts
کانفرانس د جمعې په ورځ د سهار په نهو بجو پیل کېږی.
'The conference starts Friday morning at nine.'

G. Agreement

Agreement between verbs and subjects/objects was discussed extensively in Chapters 8 and 9. Agreement between adjectives and nouns was explained in Chapter 7. The following is a summary.

Adjectives and demonstrative pronouns agree with the nouns they modify in gender (masculine or feminine), number (singular or plural), and case (direct or oblique). This agreement takes the form of suffixes attached to the adjective or demonstrative pronoun.

In intransitive sentences and in present tense transitive sentences, verbs agree with the subject in person (first, second or third), and number (singular or plural). In third person past tense sentences, the verb agrees with the subject or object in gender (masculine or feminine) as well.

In the case of derivative verbs whose first element is an adjective: the adjective agrees with the object of the verb if there is one, and with the subject if there is no object, in number (singular or plural) and gender (masculine or feminine).

In the "perfect" tenses formed with the participle: the participle agrees with the object of the sentence if there is one, and with the subject if there is no object, in gender (masculine or feminine) and number (singular or plural).

In past tense transitive sentences (discussed in detail in the following section), the verb agrees with the object of the sentence in person (first, second or third), number (singular or plural), and in the third person forms, gender (masculine or feminine).

If the noun phrase to be agreed with consists of both masculine and feminine genders, the agreeing verb or adjective will be masculine. (Such compounds are described in Chapter 12 below.)

H. The Ergative Construction

As has been mentioned several times in preceding chapters, past tense transitive sentences are constructed differently from all other sentences:

- the subject of the sentence is in the oblique case;
- the object of the sentence is in the direct case; and
- the verb agrees in person, number and (in the third person) gender with the direct object rather than the subject.

This combination of agreement and case occurrence is called the 'ergative' construction. 'Ergative' was originally the name of what is now called the agentive case. The term has recently been expanded to refer to languages in which objects in transitive sentences take on the grammatical characteristics of subjects of intransitive sentences. Pashto is an ergative language, but only in past tenses; Basque and some of the languages spoken in the Caucasus are ergative languages in that objects of all transitive sentences have the characteristics of subjects of intransitive sentences. Historical linguists hypothesize that at one time all the Iranian languages might have been ergative languages, and that each has lost ergative elements at different speeds; now, only Pashto, Beluchi, and Kurdish retain ergative elements.

The weak pronouns are also involved in ergative constructions: in past tense transitive sentences, weak object pronouns drop, and weak subject pronouns are in oblique rather than direct forms.

Simple sentence pairs are presented below, the second of each pair being the past tense equivalent of the first. In comparing them, note, first, how the verb endings differ, in agreement with the subjects of the present tense sentences and the objects of the past tense counterparts. In sentences with weak pronouns, note how subject pronouns do not appear in the present tense sentences, and object pronouns do not appear in the past tense counterparts. And finally, observe that the subjects of past tense sentences are in the oblique case.

Noun subject and object:

	[saṛay maṇá khwri.]	سړی منه خوری.
	man appleF eats	'The man is eating the apple.'
vs.		
	[saṛi maṇa khwaṛə́la.]	سړی منه خوړله.
	man apple was eating	'The man was eating the apple.'
	[xədza ṭikray ákhli.]	ښځه تیکری اخلی.
	woman scarfM buys	'The woman is buying the scarf.'
vs.		
	[xədze ṭikray ákhistə.]	ښځې تیکری اخسته.
	woman scarf was buying	'The woman was buying the scarf.'

Weak pronoun subject, noun object:

	[maṇa khwrə́m.]	منه خورم.
	apple I eat	'I'm eating the apple.'
vs.		
	[maṇa me khwaṛə́la.]	منه مې خوړله.
	apple I was eating	'I was eating the apple.'
	[saṛay melma kawú.]	سړی مېلمه کوو.
	man we invite	'We're inviting the man.'
vs.		

[saṛay mo melmá ka.] — سړى مو مېلمه کړ.
man we were inviting — 'We were inviting the man.'

Noun subject, weak pronoun object:

[asad ye ákhli.] — اسد يې اخلى.
Asad it*M* buys — 'Asad is buying it.'

vs.

[asad ákhista.] — اسد اخسته.
Asad was buying — 'Asad was buying it.'

[zmaray ye rāwalí] — زمرى يې راولى.
Zmaray it*F* brings — 'Zmaray is bringing it.'

vs.

[zmari rāwastə́la.] — زمرى راوستله.
Zmaray was bringing — 'Zmaray was bringing it.'

Weak pronoun subject, weak pronoun object:

[gaṭə́m ye.] — گتم يې.
I win it*F* — 'I am winning it.'

vs.

[gaṭə́la me.] — گتله مې.
win I — 'I was winning it.'

[khartsawú ye.] — خرڅوو يې.
we sell it*F* — 'We're selling it.'

vs.

[khartsawə́la mo.] — خرڅوله مو.
were selling we — 'We were selling it.'

J. Two Unusual Constructions

Verbs that require possessive subjects. There is a small group of frequently-occurring verbs the logical subjects of which must be possessive constructions. This group includes phrases for expressing likes and dislikes, and for feelings like hot or cold. The logical objects of the transitive verbs in this group are sometimes expressed via prepositional phrases, and sometimes as ordinary direct objects; the verb agrees with the grammatical objects. These verbs are listed below, with their grammatical peculiarities and examples.

'dislike' [bad rādz-] -بد راځ

Subject: possessive phrase
Object: in prepositional phrase with 'from' [lə ...na] له ... نه
Agreement: verb is always third person plural. [bad] بد remains unchanged.
Examples:

[lə ḍoḍáy na de rixtyā həm bád rādzi?]
from bread from your really bad go*3P*
له ډوډۍ نه دې رښتیا هم بد راځي؟
'Do you really dislike bread?'

[de asad de kimyā́ lə dars na bád rāghləl.]
of Asad of chemistry from class from bad went*3PM*
د اسد د کیمیا له درس نه بد راغلل.
'Asad didn't like his chemistry class.'

'like' [xə yis-] -ښه ایس

Subject: possessive phrase
Object: as usual
Agreement: verb and 'good' [xə] ښه agree with object
Examples:

[de har chā laylā́ xá yisi.]
of everyone Layla like*3S*
د هر چا لیلا ښه ایسي.
'Everyone likes Layla.'

[de ṭolo khalko laylá xá yeseda.]
of all people Layla liked*3SF*
د ټولو خلکو لیلا ښه ایسېده.
'All the people liked Layla.'

[de tarisā tal awghānı ḍoḍəy xa yesedəle da.] د تریسا تل افغانی
of Theresa always Afghan food has liked*3PF* ډوډۍ ښه ایسېدلې ده .
'Theresa has always liked Afghan food.'

'dislike' [bad yis-] -بد ایسـ

Subject: possessive phrase
Object: as usual
Agreement: verb and 'bad' [bad] بد agree with the object.

Examples:

[de laylā meṛə ye bád yisi.] د لیلا مېړه يې بد ایسی.
of Layla husband his don't like*3S* 'He doesn't like Layla's husband.'

[kimyā me bada ná yeseda, de mālım pə khabə́ro nə pohedəm.]
chemistry my bad *neg* like*3SF* of teacher with words not I understood*1S*
کمیا مې بده نه ایسېده، د معلم په خبرو نه پوهېدم.
'I didn't dislike chemistry, I didn't understand the teacher.'

'like, enjoy' [khwaxeg-] -خوښېـ

Subject: possessive phrase
Object: as usual
Agreement: verb agrees with the object
Examples:

[di mā afghāní ḍoḍáy khwaxégi.] زما افغانی ډوډۍ خوښېږي.
of me Afghan food enjoy*3PF* 'I enjoy Afghan food.'

[di mā afghāní ḍoḍáy khwáxa swa.] زما افغانی ډوډۍ خوښه شوه .
of me Afghan food enjoy*3PF* 'I enjoyed Afghan food.'

[di də zə khwáxa swəm.] د ده زه خوښه شوم.
of him me liked*1SF* 'He liked me (f).'

[di də zə khwáx swəm.] د ده زه خوښ شوم.
of him me liked*1SM* 'He liked me (m).'

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'feel like' [zṛə keg-] زړه کېږ-

Subject: possessive with 'heart' [zṛə] زړه, e.g. 'my heart' (= 'I') [zṛá me] زړه مې

Object: in prepositional phrase with 'to' [... ta] ته ... (if object is a clause, it appears after [keg-] کېږ- and there is no preposition)

Agreement: verb agrees with [zṛə] زړه

Examples:

[paláw ta me zṛə kégi.] پلو ته مې زړه کېږی.
pilaf to my heart become*3S*
'I feel like [having some] pilaf.'

[de asad pə wādá ke natsā ta zṛə kégi.] د اسد په واده کې نڅا
of Asad at wedding at dancing to heart become*3S* ته زړه کېږی.
'Asad feels like dancing at weddings.'

[zṛə me kégi che kór ta lāṛ səm.] زړه مې کېږی چه کور
heart my become*3S* that home to go*1S* ته لاړ شم.
'I feel like going home.'

[zṛə me kedá che kandzā wərta wakṛəm, kho tsə me wə ná wele.]
heart my became*3SF* that curse to-him do*1S* but anything I not said
زړه مې کېده چه کنځا ورته وکړم، خو څه مې و نه ویل.
'I felt like cursing him, but I kept quiet.'

'heat' [garmī] گرمی, 'cold' [sāṛá] ساړه and fever' [tə́ba] تبه are feminine nouns. The constructions below involve these nouns, and can be analyzed as having them as subjects, with the verbs agreeing as usual with them. If so, they can translate more or less as 'X's heat exists,' 'X's cold exists', or X's fever exists.'

'feel hot' [garmī keg-] گرمی کېږ-

Subject: possessive of 'heat' [garmī] گرمی

Object: none

Agreement: verb agrees with [garmī] گرمی

Examples:

[di tā garmī kegi?] د تا گرمی کیږی؟
of you heat become*3S*
'Do you feel hot?'

[de khoshāl garmí kegi, ḍere manḍe ye wahә́le di.]
of Khoshal heat become*3S* very running he has beaten

د خوشحال گرمی کېږی، ډېرې منډې یې وهلې دی.

'Khoshal feels hot because he has been running.'

[de asad garmí keda, wobә́ ye wә́tskәle.]
of Asad heat became*3SF* water he drank

د اسد گرمی کېده،
اوبه یې وڅکلې.

'Asad felt hot so he drank some water.'

[de njәlә́y, wrusta lә de che pә bāgh ke ye wә́zangәl, garmí wәswә.]
of girls after from that that in orchard in they swung heat became

د نجلۍ وروسته له دې چه په باغ کې یې وزنگل گرمی وشوه.

'The girls felt hot after swinging in the orchard.'

'feel cold' [sāṛә́ keg-] ساړه کېږ-

Subject: possessive of 'cold' [sāṛә́] ساړه

Object: none

Agreement: verb agrees with 'cold' [sārә́] ساړه

Examples:

[sāṛә de ka kégi lungәy me wāghunda.]
cold your if become*3S* shawl my put on

ساړه دې که کېږی
لونگۍ مې واغونده.

'If you feel cold put on my shawl.'

[sahār sabā sāṛә́ me kégi
early morning cold my become
rā bānde wāchawa lungәy dwāṛa lāsúna.]
me around put shawl both hands

سهار سبا ساړه مې کېږی.
را باندې واچوه لونکۍ دواړه لاسونه.

'It's early morning and I'm cold
Put your shawl and both arms around me.' (landay)

'have a fever' [tә́ba da] تبه ده

Subject: possessive of 'fever' [tәba] تبه

Object: none

Agreement: verb agrees with 'fever' [tәba] تبه

Examples:

[tába ye da.] تبه يې ده.
fever his is*3SF*
'He has a fever.'

[har wakht ba me che tába swa, mor ba me pə káṭ ke ắchawaləm.]
every time would my that fever was, mother would my in bed in put me
هر وخت به مې چه تبه شوه مور به مې په کټ کې اچولم.
'Whenever I had a fever, my mother put me to bed.'

'Impersonal transitive' verbs. There is a small group of intransitive verbs--most of them denoting sounds made by animals and people, for example 'sneeze' [prinj-] -پرينج and 'neigh' [shishn-] -شيشن--that behave idiosyncratically in past tense sentences. They are called 'false transitives' or 'impersonal transitives', and include the following verbs:

'bray' [hang-] -هنگ
'bark' [ghāp-] -غاپ
'whinny' [shishn-] -شيشن
'cry' [zāṛ-] -ژاړ
'sneeze' [prinj-] -پرينج
'cough' [ṭukh-] -ټوخ
'laugh' [khānd-] -خاند
'dance' [nāts-] -ناڅ
'swing' [zāng-] -زانگ
'swim' [lāmb-] -لامب
'jump' [dang-] -دنگ

In the past tenses, the subjects of these verbs are in the oblique case, even though the verbs are intransitive. The verbs always and only take a third person masculine plural verbal ending in past tenses, regardless of the person of the subject, and the [-əl] ل- suffix of that ending (which in other contexts is optional) never drops. A final idiosyncrasy is that the present tense stem vowel [ā] ا in some of the verbs becomes [a] in past tenses, for example 'laugh' with its present stem [khānd-] -خاند and its past stem [khand-] خند. Some examples of these verbs in sentences:

[khắndəm.] خاندم.
I am laughing
'I am laughing.'

[mā khandə́l/khandə́lə] ما خندل/ خندله.
I (obl) laughed*3PM*
'I was laughing.'

[khandə́l/khandə́lə me.] خندل/ خندله مې.
laughed*3PM*
'I was laughing.'

[khandə́li me di.]
laugh*part* I *be3P*
خندلی مې دی.
'I have laughed.'

[khandə́lay səm.]
swim*part* *be1S*
خندلی شم.
'I can laugh.'

[laylā pə sínd ke wə́lambal.].
Layla in river in swam*3PM*
لیلا په سیند کې ولمبل.
'Layla swam in the river.'

[begā shpa de ahmad spi ḍér wə́ghapal.]
last night of Ahmad dog very barked*3PM*
بېگا شپه د احمد سپی
ډېر وغپل.
'Ahmad's dog barked a lot last night.'

K. Other Analyses

Our analysis of the particles is based on Tegey's *The Grammar of Clitics*, published in 1978 by the International Centre for Pashto Studies in Kabul. The focus of that treatment is the demonstration that the occurrences of the particles in various places in the sentence can be explained by the single rule that they occur just after the first stressed element in the sentence.

Our presentation of the ergative construction is based on Tegey's 'Ergativity in Pushto (Afghan)' which appeared in *Linguistic Method: Essays in Honor of Herbert Penzl*, edited by Irmengard Rauch and Gerald F. Carr and published by Mouton in 1979. This article demonstrates that the Pashto past tense transitive sentences contain the characteristics of ergative constructions in other languages.

Penzl (1955) notes the SOV order and gives details of the order of modifiers. He analyzes basic sentence components to allow for subjectless sentences, to account for imperative sentences and those in which the weak pronoun subject (or object) is dropped. He analyzes the occurrence of particles as several special cases of ordering. His grammar preceded the work that was done on ergative constructions, and he therefore relates the objects of past tense transitive sentences with the subjects of all other sentences as follows:

In past tense transitive sentences:	In other transitive sentences:
Agent	Subject
Goal	Object
Verb	Verb

The sketches of syntax in Mackenzie (1987) and Shafeev (1964) do not differ in basics from the analysis given here.

Chapter 12: Conjunction

A. Introduction

This chapter describes how words, phrases and sentences are conjoined by simple conjunctions like 'and' [aw] او, 'or' [ya] یا, and 'but' [kho] خو and the more complex conjunctions like 'both ... and' [həm ... həm] هم ... هم, 'neither ... nor' [nə ... nə] نه ... نه. The interaction of word and phrase conjunction and agreement is also described.

B. Conjoined Nouns and Noun Phrases

Nouns are conjoined in Pashto most simply by means of the conjunctions 'and' [aw] او or 'or' [yā] یا:

[amā̆n aw laylā̆]	امان او لیلا
Aman and Layla	'Aman and Layla'
[amā̆n yā̆ laylā̆]	امان یا لیلا
Aman or Layla	'Aman or Layla'
[amā̆n, laylā̆ aw khoshā̆l]	امان، لیلا، او خوشحال
Aman Layla and Khoshal	'Aman, Layla and Khoshal'
[amā̆n, laylā̆ yā khoshā̆l]	امان، لیلا، یا خوشحال
Aman, Layla or Khoshal	'Aman, Layla or Khoshal'

When one of the elements is a pronoun, the pronoun ordinarily appears first:

[zə aw laylā̆]	زه او لیلا
I and Layla	'Layla and I'
[tə́, asád aw de asad plā̆r]	ته، اسد او د اسد پلار
you, Asad and of Asad father	'you, Asad, and Asad's father'

Adjective agreement with conjoined nouns. When nouns conjoined with 'and' [aw] او or 'or' [yā] are the same gender, adjectives modifying both nouns agree with them in whatever the gender is, and are plural:

[xkwəle njəláy aw xə́dza]	ښکولې نجلۍ او ښځه
pretty*FP* girl*FS* *and* woman*FS*	'pretty girl and woman'
[xkwəle njəláy yā xə́dza]	ښکولې نجلۍ یا ښځه
pretty*FP* girl*FS* or woman*FS*	'pretty girl or woman'
[zṛawər alə́k aw saráy]	زړور هلك او سرى
braveMP boy*MS* and man*MS*	'brave boy and man'

When the nouns are of different genders, the adjective must be repeated, with endings in agreement with each noun:

[zṛawəra xə́dza aw zṛawár saráy]	زړوره ښځه او زړور سرى
brave*FS* woman*FS* and brave*MS* man*MS*	'brave woman and man'
[zṛawə́ra xə́dza yā zṛawár saráy]	زړوره ښځه یا زړور سرى
brave*FS* woman*FS* or brave*MS* man*MS*	'brave woman or man'

Agreement of verbs with conjoined subjects. Verbs in sentences with conjoined subjects (or objects, in the case of ergative constructions) connected with 'and' [aw] او are plural, as they are in English. When the nouns to be agreed with are all one gender, the verb agrees with that gender, for example

[amā̆n asád aw khoshā̆l melé ta lāṛəl.]	امان، اسد، او خوشحال
Aman, Asad and Khoshal picnic to went *3MP*	مېلې ته لاړل.
	'Aman, Asad, and Khoshal went on the picnic.'
[mung amā̆n asád aw khoshā̆l wálidəl.]	مونږ امان، اسد او خوشحال
we Aman, Asad and Khoshal saw *3MP*	ولیدل.
	'We saw Aman, Asad and Khoshal.'

[laylā̆, rābyā̆ aw kawtára melé ta lāṛe.]
Layla, Rabya and Kawtara picnic to went *3FP*
ليلا ، رابيا او کوتره
مېلې ته لاړې.
'Layla, Rabyā, and Kawtara went on the picnic.'

[mung laylā̆ rābyā̆ aw kawtára wə́lide.]
we Layla, Rabya and Kawtara saw *3FP*
مونږ ليلا ، رابيا او کوتره
وليدې.
'We saw Layla, Rabyā, and Kawtara.'

When the nouns are of different genders, the verb is masculine. There has apparently been a prescriptive tradition in the language that the verb agrees with the last of a conjoined set of subjects or objects, but in the central dialect, at least, the rule seems to be that if the conjoined set is mixed in gender, the verb is masculine.

[amā̆n laylā̆ aw khoshā̆l melé ta lāṛəl.]
Aman, Layla and Khoshal picnic to went *3MP*
امان ، ليلا ، او خوشحال
مېلې ته لاړل.
'Aman, Layla and Khoshal went on the picnic.'

[mung amā̆n laylā̆ aw khoshā̆l wəlidəl.]
we Aman Layla and Khoshal saw *3MP*
مونږ امان ، ليلا ، او
خوشحال وليدل.
'We saw Aman, Layla and Khoshal.'

[amā̆n khoshā̆l aw laylā̆ melé ta lāṛəl.]
Aman Khoshal and Layla picnic to went *3MP*
امان ، خوشحال ، او ليلا
مېلې ته لاړل.
'Aman, Khoshal, and Layla went on the picnic.'

[mung amā̆n khoshā̆l aw laylā̆ wəlidəl.]
we Aman Khoshal and Layla saw *3MP*
مونږ امان ، خوشحال او
ليلا وليدل.
'We saw Aman, Khoshal, and Layla.'

When one of the subjects or objects is a pronoun, the verb agrees with the combination, i.e. the verb in a sentence which includes 'I' [zə] زه or 'we' [mung] مونږ as one of the subjects will be first person plural.

[zə amā̆n aw laylā̆ melé ta lā̆ṛu.]
I Aman and Layla picnic to went*1P*
زه ، امان او ليلا مېلې ته لاړو.
'Aman, Layla, and I went on the picnic.'

[tā zá asád aw laylā́ wálidu.] تا زه، اسد او لیلا ولیدو.
you me, Asad and Layla saw*1P* 'You saw Asad, Layla, and me.'

[tə amā́n aw laylā́ ba de asád pə moṭár ke lā́ṛ səy.]
you Aman and Layla will of Asad in car in go*2P*
ته امان او لیلا به د اسد په موټر کې لاړ شئ.
'You, Aman, and Layla will go in Asad's car.'

[mung tá, amā́n aw laylā́ wálidəy.] مونږ ته، امان او لیلا ولیدئ.
we you Aman and Layla saw*2P* 'We saw you, Aman, and Layla.'

When nouns are connected by 'or' [yā] یا, the verb agrees with the noun closest to it. For example:

[amā́n yā laylā́ wágaḍeda.] امان یا لیلا وگډېده.
Aman or Layla danced*3FS* 'Aman or Layla danced.'

[laylā́ yā amā́n wəgaḍedə.] لیلا یا امان وگډېده.
Layla or Aman danced *3MS* 'Layla or Aman danced.'

C. Double Conjunctions

Words and phrases may be conjoined with double conjunctions, as they may be in English. Common double conjunctions are 'either – or' [yā ... yā] یا ... یا , 'neither ... nor' [nə ... nə] , نه ... نه and 'both – and' [həm ... aw həm] هم ... او هم. Note the position of the verb in the following sentences (If conjunction is thought of as the combining of sentences and the deletion of common elements in those sentences, these sentences show that it is the second verb that is dropped):

[amā́n həm tārikh póh day aw həm likwál.] امان هم تاریخ پوه دی
Aman both historian is and both writer او هم لیکوال.
'Aman is both a historian and a writer.'

[amā́n həm nyu yā́rk ta dzi, aw həm shikagó ta.] امان هم نیو یارك ته
Aman both New York to goes and both Chicago to ځی او هم شیکاگو ته.
'Aman is going both to New York and to Chicago.'

[amān nə nyu yărk ta dzi nə shikagó ta.] امان نه نیو یارك ته ځی
Aman neither New York to goes nor Chicago to نه شیکاگو ته.
'Aman is going neither to New York nor to Chicago..'

[amān ba yā nyu yărk ta lāṛ si yā shikagó ta.] امان به یا نیو یارك ته
Aman *fut* eitheNew York to go *aux* or Chicago to لاړ شی یا شیکاگو ته.
'Aman will go either to New York or to Chicago.'

[zə həm pə wādə́ ꝁe wə́gaḍedəm aw həm lə wādə́ na wrústa.]
I both at wedding at danced and both from wedding from after
زه هم په واده کې او هم له واده نه وروسته وگډېدم.
'I danced both at the wedding and after the wedding.'

[nə me āshák tsakə́li nə sābə́.] نه مې اشك څکلی نه سابه.
neither I aushak tasted nor vegetables
'I tasted neither the aushak
nor the vegetables.'

[nə āshá xa da, nə gwə́la; duy de wə́khwri yaw tər bə́la!]
neither Asha good is nor Gwela; they may eat one toward other
نه اشه ښه ده نه گوله؛ دوی دې وخوری یو تر بله!
'Neither Asha nor Gwela is good; may they destroy each other!' (proverb)

D. Conjoined Sentences

It appears to be impossible to conjoin Pashto verbs or verb phrases in the same way that noun phrases can be conjoined. For example, a Pashto equivalent for the English sentence in which one subject has two verbs, like 'I will go to the city and buy a car' does not exist; its only possibility in Pashto is the following:

[xar ta ba lāṛ səm (aw) moṭar ba wākhləm.] ښار ته به لاړ شم (او)
city to *fut* go *aux1S* (and) car *fut* I buy موټر به واخلم.
'I will go to the city and I will buy a car.'

which follows the rules for the conjoining of sentences.

The major characteristic of sentence conjoining is that the conjunction 'and' [aw] او is optional, and most of the time is dropped.

[xar ta lā́ṛəm (aw) moṭár me wákhist.]
city to I-went (and) car I bought
ښار ته لاړم (او) موټر
مي واخست.
'I went to the city and bought a car.'

[bāzā́r ta lā́ṛəm (aw) lə dukāndā́r sara wə́ghagedəm.]
bazaar to I-went (and) with shopkeeper with I-talked
بازار ته لاړم (او) له دوکاندار سره وغږېدم.
'I went to the bazaar and talked to the shopkeeper.'

[ḍoḍəy me wā́khista (aw) kor ta lā́ṛəm.]
bread I bought (and) house to I-went
ډوډۍ مي واخسته (او)
کور ته لاړم.
'I bought some bread and went home.'

[yaw tsə paysé me badále kṛe (aw) yawa qālina me wākhista.]
one some money I change *aux* (and) one rug I bought
یو څه پیسي مي بدلي کړي (او) یوه قالینه مي واخسته.
'I changed some money and bought a rug.'

'and' [aw] او may occur with 'or' [yā] یا (the equivalent of English 'or' is [aw yā] او یا, or, with [aw] او dropped, just [yā] یا.

[day ba rā́si (aw) yā ba rā nə́ si.]
he *fut* come-here (and) or *fut* here not come
دی به راسی (او) یا
به را نه سی.
'Either he'll get here or he won't.'

As with conjoined nouns, a double [yā ... yā] یا... یا renders the equivalent of 'either... or'.

[yā tsə shay wā́khla (aw) yā lə dukān na wawza.]
either some thing buy (and) or from shop from leave
یا څه شی واخله (او)
یا له دوکان نه ووزه.
'Either buy something or leave the shop.'

'but' [kho] خو does not occur with 'and' [aw] او, but functions as its English counterpart does. Note that the conjunction [kho] خو is different from the particle [kho] خو.

[ahmad kór ta dzi kho khpəla xə́dza nə́ gori.] احمد کور ته ځی خو
Ahmad house to goes but own wife not sees خپله ښځه نه گوری.
'Ahmad goes home, but doesn't see his wife.'

[stə́ṛay wəm kho byā həm wə́gaḍedəm.]
tired I-was but again also I danced
ستړی وم خو بیا هم وگډېدم.
'I was tired but I danced anyway.'

When the sequence of events is not apparent from the meanings of the verbs, it can be signalled by means of adverbs like 'then' [byā] بیا, with or without [aw] او. In the following examples of various combinations of sentences, the deletable 'and' [aw] او is shown in parentheses.

[ahmad awal gaḍégi (aw) byā ḍoḍə́y khwri] احمد اول گډېږی (او)
Ahmad first dances (and) then bread eats بیا ډوډۍ خوری.
'Ahmad first dances and then eats.'

[ahmad pə bāgh ke wə́gərdzed (aw) gwəlā̆n ye ṭól kṛəl.]
Ahmad in garden in walked (and) flowers he pick *aux*
احمد په باغ کې وگرځېد. (او) گلان یې ټول کړل.
'Ahmad walked in the garden and picked flowers.'

[ahmad pə bā̆gh ke wə́gərdzəd (aw) byā xā̆r ta lā̆ṛ.]
Ahmad in garden in walked (and) then city to he went
احمد په باغ کې وگرځېد (او) بیا ښار ته لاړ.
'Ahmad walked in the garden and then went to the city.'

[laylā ḍer xə angur tayā̆r kṛəl, kho awal wə́ gaḍedu (aw) byā mo wə́khwṛəl.]
Layla very good pears fixed but first *perf* danced and then we ate (them)
لیلا ډېر ښه انگور تیار کړل خو اول وگډېدو (او) بیا
مو وخوړل.
'Layla fixed some very good pears, but we danced first and then we ate them.'

E. Other Analyses

Shafeev (1964) notes that sentences can be conjoined with or without 'and' [aw] او, and discusses the agreement between verb and compound subjects.

Mackenzie (1977) does not discuss conjunction.

Penzl (1955) groups together sentence conjunction and sentence subordination.

Chapter 13: Subordinate Clause Structure

A. Introduction

This chapter discusses the structure of subordinate clauses, i.e. noun clauses, relative clauses, adverbial clauses with various clause markers, and conditional clauses beginning with 'if' [ka] که. The analyses are based on the assumption that subordinate clauses are essentially sentences that function as nouns (in the case of noun clauses) or adjectives (in the case of relative clauses, which are sometimes called adjective clauses), or adverbs (in the case of adverbial clauses which may be analyzed as modifying verbs or sentences).

B. Noun Clauses

Noun clauses are sentences that function as noun phrases; they may appear as subjects, direct objects, complements, or objects of prepositions. Every language has noun clauses, and the extent to which the original sentence is modified or altered to function as a noun clause differs greatly from language to language. In Pashto, modification of the sentence is minimal: a noun clause is identical to a corresponding independent sentence except that it is usually preceded by the clause marker 'that' [tse] or [che] چه. For agreement purposes, noun clauses are masculine plural.

Noun clauses as subjects. The English sentence 'That you arrived early was good' has a noun clause as its subject. Its Pashto equivalent is:

[che wakhta rãghle xá shwəl.]	چه وخته راغلې ښه شول.
that early you came good *be3P*	'That you arrived early was good.'

and is just as awkward stylistically as the English. (Pashto appears to avoid starting a sentence with 'that' [che] چه.) Both languages have a process by which such noun clause subjects are moved to the end of the sentence:

[xə́ shwəl tse wákhta rãghle.]	ښه شول چه وخته. راغلې.
good *be3P* that early you came	'It was good that you arrived early.'

and both languages tend to move noun clause subjects to the end more often than not. In English, a word like 'it' must occur in the subject position when the clause is moved; in Pashto, a demonstrative pronoun (usually feminine singular) can occur in the subject place. (The demonstrative pronoun appears to agree with a noun like 'fact' [khabára] خبره that is then deleted, suggesting that other words like [khabára] خبره but masculine also trigger agreement.) Some examples:

[dā xá shwa tse wákhta rāghle.] دا ښه شو چه وخته راغلې.
that good *be3FS* that early you came 'It was good that you arrived early.'

[dā mohóma da tse wákhta rāse.] دا مهمه ده چه وخته راسې.
that important *be3SF* that early you arrive
'It's important that you get here early.'

[dā rā ta malúma shwa che pə ḍero gano khalko ke hám saṛay dzān ta "yawāze"
that me to known *be3SF* that in very many people in also man self to 'alone'

wayəlay shi.]
say *be*

دا را ته معلومه شوه چه په ډېرو ګڼو خلکو کې هم سړی ځان
ته "یوازې" ویلی شی.

'I realized that a man can say to himself 'I am alone' in a great crowd of people.' (Ulfat)

Noun clauses as direct objects. The most frequent use of noun clauses is as the objects of sentences. Note in the following examples that the past tense verbs are masculine plural, in order to agree with their object clauses:

[wāyi tse de asad plār xá saṛay day.] وایی چه د اسد پلار ښه
say that of Asad Father good man is سړی دی.
'They say that Asad's father is a good man.'

[mā katə́l che asad rághay.] ما کتل چه اسد راغی.
I saw*3P* that Asad came. 'I saw that Asad had arrived.'

[mung gaṇә́l che laylā̆ ba wādә́ kә́ṛay wi.]
we thought*3P* that Layla *fut* married *aux be*
مونږ کنل چه لیلا به واده کړی وی.
'We thought that Layla was probably married.'

[mung fíkir kawu che laylā̆ ba rāsi.] مونږ فکر کوو چه لیلا به راشی.
we idea do that Layla *fut.* come 'We think that Layla will come here.'

[chā̆ lә mā na puxtә́na wәkṛa che tә yawā̆ze ye aw ka tsók dәr sara shtá?]
who from me from asked that you alone are or someone you with is
چا له ما نه پوښتنه وکړه چه ته یوازې یې او که
څوک در سره شته؟
'Someone asked me if I was alone or if someone was with me.' (Ulfat)

The two examples just above are similar, in that their main verbs appear to be phrases with direct objects ('question' [puxtә́na] پوښتنه and 'idea' [fikir] فکر) built in. Note that the verb ending of the last example is feminine singular to agree with the feminine 'question' [puxtә́na] پوښتنه, which suggests that, strictly speaking, the [che] چه clauses in both examples are not direct objects but some kind of appositives parallel to English 'The question, "Are you alone?", is a difficult one to answer.'

A final example involves the common way to express knowledge, with the verb 'know' [poheg-] پوهېږ- which is intransitive. In sentences like 'I know the story', the 'known' fact is the object of the prepositional phrase 'with/by means of' [pә] په:

[zә pә qísa pohegәm.] زه په قصه پوهېږم.
I with story know 'I know the story.'

but when what is known is expressed in a clause, the preposition can be present with a demonstrative pronoun:

[asad pә dé pohegi che tә ná wardze.] اسد په دې پوهېږی چه ته
Asad with this knows that you *neg* go نه ورځې.
'Asad knows you're not going there.'

or the whole prepositional phrase can be dropped:

[asad pohegi che tә na wardze.] اسد پوهېږی چه ته نه ورځي.
Asad knows that you *neg* go 'Asad knows you're not going there.'

with the resulting structure mimicking the structure of direct object [che] چه clauses.

Reported speech. One of the most common noun clause object constructions is reported speech, corresponding to English sentences like 'Amān said that he would go Pakistan next month,' which is a rendition of the direct quote 'Amān said, "I'll go to Pakistan next month." '

There is only one way in Pashto to express reported speech, and it is much closer to a direct quote, as can be seen in the following example. Note the (underlined) first person verb ending in the clause:

[amān wә́wayәl tse bәla myā́st ba pakistā́n ta lā́ṛ sәm.]
Aman said*3P* that next month *fut* Pakistan to go *be1S*
امان وويل چه بله مياشت به پاکستان ته لاړ شم.
'Amān said that he would go to Pakistan next month.'

In present tense sentences, 'say' [way-] -وي agrees with the subject; in past tense sentences, the verb is masculine plural. (The pronunciation of 'said' [wә́wayәl] وويل varies from dialect to dialect. [wә́wele] is a common pronunciation in the central dialect, but [wә́we] is also heard.) More examples of reported speech:
وويل:

[laylā āmān ta wә́wele che melé ta ba āshak wésәm.]
Layla Aman to said*3P* that picnic to *fut* aushak take*1S*
ليلا امان ته وويل چه مېلې ته به آشك وېسم.
'Layla told Aman that she would take aushak to the picnic.'

[amān laylā ta wә́wele che wror de sinemá ta dzi.]
Aman Layla to said*3P* that brother your movie to goes
امان ليلا ته وويل چه ورور دې سينما ته ځی.
'Aman told Layla that her brother was going to a movie.'

[wradzpā́na wā́yi che tālibā́n kābə́l ta rasedə́li di.]
newspaper say*3S* that Taliban Kabul to have reached
ورځپانه وایی چه طالبان کابل ته رسېدلی دی.
'The newspaper says that the Taliban have reached Kabul.'

[mā wə́wayəl, ná zə yawā́ze yəm.]
ما وویل، نه زه یوازې یم.
I said no I alone am
'I said no, I was alone.' (Ulfat)

Tense restrictions with some common verbs. Another common use of noun clause objects is with verbs like 'want' [ghwāṛ-] -غواړ, and 'try' [koshísh kaw-] -کو کوشش, which in English are often followed by infinitives. The noun clause objects of these Pashto verbs, however, must be in the present perfective tense. In present tenses, the verb in the main clause agrees with the subject. In past tenses, the verb is masculine plural to agree with the noun clause. Some examples are:

[de asad plār ghwā́ṛi tse yaw loy bā́gh wā́khli.]
د اسد پلار غواړی چه
of Asad father want*3S* that one big orchard he buy*perf*
یو لوی باغ واخلی.
'Asad's father wants to buy a large orchard.'

[de asad plār ghuxtə́l tse yaw loy bāgh wā́khli.]
of Asad father wanted*3P* that one big orchard he buy*perf*
د اسد پلار غوښتل چه یو لوی باغ واخلی.
'Asad's father wanted to buy a large orchard.'

[de asad plār ghuxtə́li di tse yaw loy bāgh wā́khli.]
of Asad father wanted *be3P* that one big orchard buy*perf*
د اسد پلار غوښتلی دی چه یو لوی باغ واخلی.
'Asad's father has wanted to buy a large orchard.'

[tarisā́ koshísh wəkṛə tse āshak pākhə́ kṛi.]
تریسا کوشش وکړ
Theresa attempt make*3P* that aushak cook *aux*
چه آشك پاخه کړی.
'Theresa tried to cook aushak.'

[zə həm ghwā́ṛəm tse wársəm.]
زه هم غواړم چه ورشم.
I also want*1S* that I go*perf*
'I want to go too.'

Noun clauses as complements. Noun clauses can function as complements. Usually, the noun clause is positioned after the 'be' verb. Some examples are:

[oméd day che sóla ba rāsi.] امید دی چه سوله به راشی.
hope is that peace *fut* come here 'The hope is that peace will come.'

[pə paxtanó ke dā zarur ná da che melma wə́baləl si.]
in Pashtuns in this necessity *neg* is that guest be invited
په پښتنو کې دا ضرور نه ده چه مېلمه وبلل شی.
'Among Pashtuns it is not necessary that a guest be invited.'

[sabā me nyát day che zhwandáy ye xakhawə́m-a.]
tomorrow my intention is that alive him I bury
سبا مې نیت دی چه ژوندی یې ښخومه.
'My intention tomorrow is that I will bury him alive.'(second line of landay)

Frequently, a demonstrative pronoun appears immediately before the verb in complement position, for example:

[mānā. ye dā́ da tse khor wrór ta wárta wi.] معنا یی دا ده چه خور
meaning its this is that sister brother to similar is ورور ته ورته وی.
'Its meaning is this, that sisters are similar to brothers.'

Noun clauses as objects of prepositions. Noun clauses can also function as objects of prepositions in Pashto (although in English such clauses are not possible; as will be seen in the examples, such objects are gerund phrases like 'your working with me'). The clause is postponed to the end of the prepositional phrase (or sometimes to the end of the sentence), and a feminine singular demonstrative pronoun is inserted where the object of the preposition would occur. In the following example, the noun clause is the object of the preposition 'of' [de] د in the phrase equivalent to English: 'about' or 'on the subject of' [de ... pə bāra ke] د ... په باره کې:

[mung di dé pə bārá ke che tə kār rā̆ sara wəkre wə́ghagedu.]
we of this on subject on that you work me with do we talked
مونږ د دی په باره کې چې ته کار را سره وکړی وغږېدو.
'We talked about your working with me.'

Other prepositions that frequently occur with noun clause objects are:

'instead of' [de ... pə dzā̆y] د ... په ځای:

[di dé pə dzā̆y che lə ahmad sara kár wəkṛe, mā̆ sara ye wəkṛa.]
of this in place that with Ahmad with work you do, me with it do.
د دې په ځای چه له احمد سره کار وکړې، ما سره یې وکړه.
'Instead of doing the work with Ahmad, do it with me.'

'before' [pə khwa lə ...] ... په خوا له

[mung pə khwá lə de che kā̆r sara wəkṛu yaw bəl pézandə.]
we in front from this that work together we did each other we knew.
مونږ په خوا له دې چه کار سره وکړو یو بل پېژانده.
'We knew each other before we worked together.'

'after...' [wrusta lə ... (na)] (نه)... وروسته له

[wrusta lə dé che āshak mo wə́khwaṛəl, wə́gaḍedu.]
after that that aushak we ate we danced
وروسته له دې چه آشك مو وخوړل وګډېدو.
'After we ate the aushak, we danced.'

'because' [pə de ...] ... په دې

[zər mə́ rādza pə de che laylā̆ nāwákhta rādzi.]
quick *neg* come with this that Layla late comes
زر مه راځه په دې چه لیلا ناوخته راځی.
'Don't come quickly because Layla's coming late.'

This last expression is the most natural way to express reasons in the central dialect, other than juxtaposing the clauses, as will be described below in the discussion of 'because' [dzəka] ځکه. The following ordering is also possible:

[zər pə de che laylā̆ nāwákhta rādzi, mə́ rādza.]
quick with this that Layla late comes *neg* come
زر په دې چه لیلا ناوخته راځی مه راځه.
'Don't come quickly because Layla's coming late.'

C. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses, or adjective clauses, are sentences that function as adjectives (i.e. they modify nouns). Again, all languages have relative clauses, but the extent to which relative clauses differ from corresponding independent sentences varies from language to language.

In Pashto, relative clauses differ minimally from their corresponding independent sentences. The relative clause follows the noun it modifies, and is introduced by the clause marker [che] or [tse] چه, which translates as 'that', 'who', 'whom' or 'which'.

Within the original sentence that becomes the relative clause, there is always a noun identical to the noun that the clause modifies; however, that noun has been changed to a weak pronoun and follows weak pronoun rules (e.g., if a subject, it drops in present tense sentences; if a subject in a transitive past tense sentence, it remains, etc.)

These processes are shown step by step below with the following sentence:

[agha njəláy tse kamís akhli de rābyā khór da.]
that girl who dress buys of Rabya sister is
هغه نجلۍ چه کمیس اخلی د رابیا خور ده.
'The girl who is buying the dress is Rābyā's sister.'

The relative clause 'who is buying the dress' [che kamís akhli] چه کمیس اخلی modifies 'girl' [njələy] نجلۍ, the subject of the main sentence. The relative clause has the following as its corresponding independent sentence:

[njəláy kamís akhli] نجلۍ کمیس اخلی
girl dress buys 'The girl is buying the dress.'

In converting the sentence to a relative clause, the identical noun 'girl' [njələy] نجلۍ is changed to a weak pronoun, which is omitted because it is the subject of the sentence:

[kamís akhli] کمیس اخلی
dress buys 'she is buying the dress'

The clause marker 'that' [che] چه is added:

[tse kamís akhli] چه کمیس اخلی
that dress buys 'who/that is buying the dress'

and the clause has been positioned after 'girl' [njələy] نجلۍ, the noun it modifies, and the modified noun is preceded by the demonstrative 'that' [agha] هغه.

In the following examples, the main clause

[agha njəláy de rābyā khór da.]
that girl of Rabya sister is
هغه نجلۍ د رابيا خور ده.
'The girl is Rabya's sister'

remains constant, while the subject 'girl' [njələy] نجلۍ, is modified by different relative clauses.

[agha njəláy tse kamis ye wā́khistə de rābyā khór da.]
that girl who dress she bought of Rabya sister is
هغه نجلۍ چه كميس يې واخسته د رابيا خور ده.
'The girl who bought the dress is Rābyā's sister.'

[agha njəláy tse melmastyā ta rāghə́le wa de rābyā khór da.]
that girl that party to had come of Rabya sister is.
هغه نجلۍ چه مېلمستياته راغلې وه د رابيا خور ده.
'The girl who came to the party is Rābyā's sister.'

[agha njəláy tse pə melmāstyā ke me wə́lida de rābyā khór da.]
that girl who at party at I saw of Rabya sister is
هغه نجلۍ چه په مېلمستيا كې مې وليده د رابيا خور ده.
'The girl that I saw at the party is Rābyā's sister.'

[agha njəláy tse wər sara nā́st wəm de rābyā khór da.]
that girl that her with sitting I was of Rabya sister is
هغه نجلۍ چه زه ورسره ناست وم د رابيا خور ده.
'The girl with whom I was sitting is Rābyā's sister.'

In the following example, the relative clause modifies the object of the preposition 'with' [lə ... sara] له ... سره. note how the clause 'that Layla doesn't know' [tse laylā ye nə pezani] چه ليلا يې نه پېژنی is placed after the entire prepositional phrase, rather than directly after the noun that the relative clauses modifies.

[asad lə aghe njəláy sara tse laylā́ ye nə́ pezani, gaḍegi.]
Asad with that girl with that Layla her not know dances
اسد له هغې نجلۍ سره چه ليلا يې نه پېژنی، ګډېږی.
'Asad is dancing with a girl that Layla doesn't know.'

When a noun and its relative clause appear at the end of a sentence (i.e., just before the verb in the main clause) , the clause can be placed after the main verb. Western analysts speculate that the juxtaposition of verbs that results when the relative clause modifies the direct object of a sentence (the verb of the relative clause appears immediately before the verb in the main clause) is grammatically awkward, and is avoided by moving the relative clause. (This might be a dialectal characteristic: Penzl (1955), in describing the Kandahar dialect, comments on the juxtaposition of verbs, but does not mention that the clause may be moved. His discussion of clause structure is brief, however, so he simply might not have presented examples.) When the clause has not been moved to the end of the sentence, many Pashtun writers punctuate the end of the relative clause with a comma. The following sentences illustrate the point made above:

[amān agha xədza nə́ pezani tse laylā̆ sara ghagégi.]
Aman that woman not knows that Layla with talks
امان هغه ښځه نه پیژنی چه لیلا سره غږیږی.
'Amān doesn't know the woman who is talking with Laylā.'

[amān agha xə́dza tse laylā sara ghagégi nə́ pezani.]
Aman that woman that Layla with talks not knows
امان هغه ښځه چه لیلا سره غږیږی، نه پیژنی .
'Amān doesn't know the woman who is talking with Laylā.'

Another example of a clause that has been moved to the end of the sentence is:

[dā de agha sari kitā̆b day che pə pohantún ke dárs warkawi.]
that of that man book is who at university at lesson give
دا د هغه سړی کتاب دی چه په پوهنتون کې درس ورکوی.
'That is the book [authored by] the man who teaches at the university.'

English relative clauses with 'where', 'in which', 'to which', and 'whose' are relative clauses in Pashto as well, for example:

[agha kor tse koranəy me pəke wosedá, kharts sə́way day.]
that house that family my in it lived has been sold
هغه کور چه کورنۍ مې پکښې اوسیده، خرڅ شوی دی.
'The house in which/where my family was living has been sold.'

[kum bǎgh ta che mung wardzú de asad de plǎr day.]
some garden to which we go there of Asad of father is
کوم باغ ته چه مونږ ورځو د اسد د پلار دی.
'The garden to which we're going belongs to Asad's father.'

[dā agha saṛáy day che moṭár me ye wǎkhist.]
that that man is who car I his bought
دا هغه سړی دی چه موټر مې يې واخست.
'That's the man whose car I bought.'

(This last example is one of the sentences described in Chapter 11 in the discussion of particles, which is ambiguous out of context. An alternative meaning is 'That's the man who bought my car.')

Two final types of relative clauses involve 'whenever' [har wakht] هر وخت and 'as much' [tsumra] څومره as the modified nouns:

[hár wakht che laylā mā wáwini rāta maségi.]
every time that Layla me sees me to smiles
هر وخت چه ليلا ما
ووينی را ته مسېږی.
'Whenever Layla sees me she smiles.'

[tsumra che ghwǎṛi wár ye ka.]
as much as he wants to him it give
څومره چه غواړی ور يې کړه.
'Give him as much as he wants.'

D. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are sentences that modify verb phrases or other sentences. Pashto has several types of adverbial clauses, described below.

Time clauses. Among the most common adverbial clauses in both English and Pashto are clauses that indicate when something has happened or will happen, e.g. clauses that in English start with clause markers like 'when', 'until', 'while' and so on. The Pashto equivalents of these clauses are straightforward, and involve such clause markers as 'when' [kəla che] کله چه, or sometimes simply [che] چه, 'until', [tər tso che] تر څو چه and 'as soon as' [tsənga tse] څنگه چه.

Apparently there are no clause markers in Pashto parallel to English 'before' and 'after. Pashto expresses such notions by means of noun clause objects of prepositions, examples of which are presented in Section B above.

Time clauses typically occur first in the sentence, and the clause marker (especially if it is [che] چه by itself) is frequently placed after the first stressed element in the clause.

[kəla tse laylā́ de asad pə aksident khabára swa samdastí roghtún ta lāṛa.]
when Layla of Asad with accident heard immiediately hospital to went
کله چه لیلا د اسد په اکسدنت خبره شوه سمدستی روغتون
ته لاړه.
'When Layla heard about Asad's accident, she immediately went to the hospital.'

[tsənga che kā́ṛ ta lā́ṛ se, wər sara wə́ghagega.] څنگه چه کار ته لاړ
as soon as city to you go him with talk شي ور سره وغږېږه.
'Talk to him as soon as you go to the city.'

[tər tso che asad nə́way moṭar ákhli, de āmā́n moṭár gərdzawə́lay si.]
until Asad new car buys of Aman car he can use
تر څو چه اسد نوی موټر اخلی د امان موټر گرځولی شی.
'Until Asad buys a new car, he can use Aman's.'

[laylā tse rā́ghla ḍer wakht wər sara kénastəm.]
Layla when she came very time her with I sat
لیلا چه راغله ډېر وخت ور سره کښېناستم.
'When Layla came I spent a lot of time with her.'

Consequence clauses. Some clauses that begin with the clause marker [che] چه report consequences. These clauses follow the verb in the main clause, and frequently occur with adverbs like 'so' [dumra] دومره. ;

[asad dumra stə́ṛay wə tse lə dárs na wrústa dasti kor ta lā́ṛ.]
Asad so tired was that from class from after immediately house to he-went
اسد دومره ستړی وه چه له درس نه وروسته دستی کور ته لاړ.
'Asad was so tired he went home immediately after class.'

[kəla kəla dúmra zyāta wāwra worégi che sarakúna bikhi bandégi.]
sometimes so much heavy snow falls that streets completely block
کله کله دومره زیاته واوره اوریږی چه سرکونه بیخی بندیږی.
'Sometimes it snows so much that the streets are completely blocked.'

[dā dāse kitā́b day che lwəstəl ye grā́n di.]
this such book is that to read it difficult are
دا داسې کتاب دی چه لوستل یې گران دی.
'This book is such that it is hard to read.'

Purpose clauses. Another group of clauses with [che] ځه conveys purpose; these purpose clauses are always in the present perfective tense, and are parallel to noun clauses with 'want' [ghwāṛ-] غواړ- 'and 'try' [koshish kaw-] کوشش کو-, described above, both in their structure and in that they translate as infinitives in English.

[sabā ba asad wə́legu che xə loy pəsə wā́khli.]
tomorrow *fut* Asad we send so that good big lamb he buys
سبا به اسد ولیږو چه ښه لوی پسه واخلی.
'Tomorrow we'll send Asad to buy a good, big lamb.'

[parun mo asad wə́legə che xə loy pəsə wā́khli.]
yesterday we Asad sent that good big lamb he buys
پرون مو اسد ولیږ ه چه ښه لوی پسه واخلی.
'Yesterday we sent Asad to buy a good, big lamb.'

[zə dā kitāb khpəl wror ta warkawə́m che wə́ ye lwali.]
I this book own brother to give so that *prf* it he reads
زه دا کتاب خپل ورور ته ورکوم چه و یې لولی.
'I'm giving this book to my brother to read.'

[dā kitāb me khpəl wrór ta wár kṛə che wə́ ye lwali.]
I this book own brother to gave so that *prf* it he reads
دا کتاب مې خپل ورور ته ور کړ چه و یې لولی.
'I gave this book to my brother to read.'

Causal clauses and [dzəka] څکه. The central dialect ordinarily expresses reasons and causal relationships simply by ordering sentences one after the other and allowing the context to show what is causing what, for example:
[dzəka] څکه 'because/therefore';

[laylā dəlta ná rādzi, khapá da.] لیلا دلته نه راځی، خپه ده.
Layla here *neg* come upset is
'Layla isn't coming here [because] she's upset.'

[day bura ná khwri, tāwā̃n wərta kawi.] دی بوره نه خوری، تاوان
he sugar not eat loss him to does ورته کوی.
'He doesn't eat sugar [because] it's not good for him.'

[de asad garmí keda, wobə́ ye wətskəle.] د اسد گرمی کېده، اوبه
of Asad heat became water he drank يې وڅښلې.
'Asad felt hot [so] he drank some water.'

While there appears to be no word parallel to English 'because', the clause marker 'then' or 'so' [no] نو, which often occurs as the Pashto equivalent of 'then' in conditional ('if-then') sentences, is often used to introduce a result clause, in which case it parallels English 'therefore' or 'so'. The example above may appear with 'so' [no] نو:

[de asad garmí keda no wobə́ ye wətskəle.]
of Asad heat became so water he drank
د اسد گرمی کېده، نو اوبه يې وڅښلې.
'Asad felt hot, so he drank some water.'

In Pashto writing in general (and presumably in spoken Kandahari Pashto), the clause marker [dzəka] څکه or [dzəka che] څکه چه frequently appears in cause-and-effect contexts, and depending on the context translates as 'therefore' or 'because'. The following patterns seem to obtain:

'therefore', 'so': [dzəka no] څکه نو or [no dzəka] نو څکه or [dzəka] څکه
'because': [dzəka che] څکه چه or [dzəka] څکه

The dropping of [no] نو or [che] چه has the result that [dzəka] خکه, by itself, can translate as either 'because' or its opposite 'therefore', which can lead to confusion on the part of the foreign reader/hearer of Pashto, if not native speakers.

Some examples from written Pashto are given below, with [dzəka] خکه and its translations double-underlined. The first three are from 'A True Story' [yawa rixtyānay qisa] يوه رښتيانى قصه by Ulfat, a speaker of the Ningrahar dialect, who seems consistently to use [dzəka] خکه to mean 'therefore' and [dzəka che] خکه چه to mean 'because'.

[di də ṭopak ḍer xkwə́lay aw ḍer bāwərí wə, dzəka ye lə chā na wera nə́ kedə.]
of him rifle very beautiful and very sure was therefore he from who from afraid not was
دده توپك ډير ښكلى او ډير باورى وُ خكه يى له چا نه ويره
نه كيده.
'His rifle was very beautiful and trustworthy, so he was not afraid of anyone.'

[...pə mə́kh ke ye lə noro kəló na nor khalaq rā wə́watəl aw day póh shu
in face in his from other village from other people came and he understood

che dwa khwā jang nə́shi kawəlay, dzəka ye de yawa khwə́ṛ pə ghā̃ṛa
that two side fight he couldn't do therefore he of one creek at edge

yawə kālə́ ta panā̃ war wṛa aw de dzā̃n de hemāyát ghuxtə́na ye wəkṛa.]
one house to asylum took and of body of protection asked he did
په مخکښې ئې له نورو کليو نه نور خلق را ووتل او دی پوه شو
چه دوه خوا جنګ نشي کولی خکه ئې د يوه خوړ په غاړه يوه کاله
ته پناه ور وړه او د ځان د حمايت غوښتنه ئې وکړه.
'Other people came towards him from another village, and he realized that he couldn't fight on two fronts at once, so he took asylum in a house on the edge of a creek and asked for protection.'

[tā̃se wos də́ ta tsə zyā̃n nə́shay rasawəlay dzəka che day zmā porawə́ṛay day aw
you all now him to any harm *neg* can bring because that he my debtor is and

mā ta ye panā̃ṇ rāwṛi da.]
me to he asylum brought
تاسې اوس ده ته څه زيان نه شئ رسولی خکه چه دی زما پوروړی
دی او ما ته يې پناه راوړی ده.
'None of you can harm him because he owes me and came to me for asylum.'

Another example, from Ulfat's essay 'Of Hidden Words' [de pardé khabə́re] د پردي خبري:

[ter tsó che də xədzo məkhuna pə́ṭ wi khabə́re ba həm pə pardá ke wi
as long as of women faces covered *be* information *fut* also in curtain in *be*

dzəka che pə paxto ke khabə́ra həm mu?anása da.]
because in Pashtuns in information also feminine is

تر څو چه د ښځو مخونه پټ وی خبري به هم په پرده کي وی
خکه چه په پښتو کي خبره هم مؤنثه ده.

'As long as as women's faces are covered, information is hidden, because in Pashto information is feminine.'

Here is an example of 'therefore' [no dzəka] نو خکه from the essay 'Malala' [malāla] ملال by Samandar de Badrasho:

[kho kə́la kəla musulmānā́n dā sabaq hér kṛi, no dzəka pre wār
but sometimes Moslems this lesson forget therefore them

khatāyi ghalabá wəkṛi.]
panic overcome

خو کله کله مسلمانان دا سبق هېر کړی نو خکه پری وار خطایی
غلبه وکړی.

'But sometimes Moslems forget this lesson, so panic overcomes them.'

The [dzəka] خکه in the phrase 'because' [dzəka che] خکه چه is sometimes placed before the verb in the previous clause, as in the examples below from the short story 'The Grave' [qabər] قبر by Mir Mihdi Shah Mihdi:

[dā tapus me dzə́ka wəkṛə che hagha ba de qabə́r na ḍer zyāt weredó.]
this question I because did that he would from grave from very heavy fear

دا تپوس مي خکه اوکړو چه هغه به د قبر نه ډېر زيات ويرېدو.

'I asked this question because he was terrified of graves.'

[bəla xədza zə dzə́ka nə kawəm che byā ba me dā lúr wahi...]
another wife I because not I do that then will my this daughter beat...

بله ښځه زه خکه نه کوم چه بيا به مي دا لور وهی

'I don't want another wife because she would beat this daughter of mine...'

Clauses after idiomatic expressions. A final group of clauses with [che] چه occur with idiomatic expressions. Some examples:

'because' [wale che]

[asad wə nə́ gaḍedə wale tse nājoṛa wə.]
Asad *prf* not danced why that sick was.
اسد و نه گډېده ولې چه ناجوړه ؤ.
'Asad didn't dance because he was sick.'

'in short' [lanḍa dā che] لنډه دا چه

[lanḍa dā̆ che misā̆fə́r aw melmá fárq sara lari.]
short this that traveler and guest difference with have
لنډه دا چه مسافر او مېلمه فرق سره لرى.
'In short, there is a difference between guests and travelers.'

'It looks like', 'It seems to be the case that' [ləka che] لکه چه

[ləka che tə nə́ ghwāre tse melmastyā̆ ta lā̆ṛ se.]
like that you not want that party to you go
لکه چه ته نه غواړې چه مېلمستیا ته لاړ شې.
'It looks like you don't want to go to the party.'

'It's possible that' [xā̆yi che] ښای چه

[xā̆yi che kābə́l byā abā̆d si.] ښای چه کابل بیا اباد شی.
possible that Kabul again prosperous is
'It's possible that Kabul will be built again.'

E. Conditionals and Counterfactuals

Pashto, like many other Indo-European languages, has special tense and clause combinations to express conditionals--sentences like 'If it rains, we'll stay home' and counterfactuals--sentences like 'If you had asked, I would have told you.' Pashto employs participial constructions and different tenses to express these, along with the clause marker [ka] ک, which translates as 'if', and optionally the clause marker 'then' [no] نو.

Conditional sentences. Conditional sentences reflect real conditions or possibilities and their consequences in the future, for example, the English, 'If he finds some money, he will spend it immediately.'

Pashto future conditionals are expressed by means of sentences with two clauses. The first clause starts with 'if' [ka] ک; the verb in this clause is in the present or past perfective tense, although the tense difference does not reflect a difference in meaning. The second clause, which expresses the result, contains the normal future construction with [ba] به and the verb in the present perfective tense. Note, in the examples below, the same conditional sentence with different tenses in the 'if' [ka] ک clause:

[ka dáy payse paydā́ ki, samdastí ba ye wálagawi.]
if he money finds immediately *fut* it he spend
که دی پیسې پیدا کړی، سمدستی به یې ولگوی.
'If he finds some money, he will spend it immediately.'

[ka dá payse paydā́ kṛe, samdastí ba ye wálagawi.]
if he money found immediately *fut* it he spend
که ده پیسې پیدا کړې، سمدستی به یې ولگوی.
'If he finds some money, he will spend it immediately.'

[ka asad rā́shi, zə ba ye wə́gorəm.] که اسد راشی، زه به یې وگورم:
if Asad come I *fut* him see 'If Asad comes, I will see him.'

[ka asad rā́ghay, zə ba ye wə́gorəm.] که اسد راغی، زه به یې وگورم.
if Asad came I *fut* him see 'If Asad comes, I will see him.'

[ka zə bāgh wā́khləm de asad plār ba khoshā́la shi.]
if I orchard buy of Asad father *fut* pleased is
که زه باغ واخلم، د اسدپلار به خوشحاله شی.
'If I buy the orchard, Asad's father will be pleased.'

[ka mā bāgh wắkhistə, de asad plār ba khoshắla shi.]
if I orchard bought of Asad father *fut* pleased is

که ما باغ واخسته، د اسد پلار به خوشحاله شی.

'If I buy the orchard, Asad's father will be pleased.'

[ka sabā ta hawā xá wi, melé ta ba lắṛ shu.]
if tomorrow weather good is picnic to *fut* we go

که سبا ته هوا ښه وی، مېلې ته به لاړ شو.

'If the weather is good tomorrow, we will go on a picnic.'

[ka sabā ta hawā xá wa, melé ta ba lắṛ shu.]
if tomorrow weather good was picnic to *fut* we go

که سبا ته هوا ښه وه، مېلې ته به لاړ شو.

'If the weather is good tomorrow, we will go on a picnic.'

Counterfactuals. An unreal condition, or counterfactual, describes a situation that does not exist, for example English 'If I were you ...', 'If there were peace in Afghanistan...' 'If pigs had wings...' and so on. (Note that in English the non-reality of the phrase is signalled by the verb's being in the past rather than the present tense: contrast 'If there were peace in Afghanistan...' with 'If there is peace in Afghanistan...'). Unreal conditional statements usually (in most of the Indo-European languages) consist of a clause stating the contrary-to-fact situation, and a clause describing a result. The conditional clause may describe an unreal situation in the present (e.g., English 'If there were peace in Afghanistan...') or in the past (e.g., 'If there had been peace in Afghanistan...'). The result clause may also be in the present ('If there were peace in Afghanistan, the government would be establishing an education system now'), or past (If there were peace in Afghanistan, the government would have established an education system years ago').

Pashto unreal conditionals are formed in the usual Indo-European pattern involving 'if' [ka] که clauses and particular verb tenses. Such constructions comprise a clause starting with 'if' [ka] که, which describes a counter-to-fact situation, and a following clause that describes the result. The tenses of both the 'if' [ka] که clause and the result clause are expressed with various combinations of the imperfective participle and other tense markers.

Present unreal conditionals. If the [ka] ک clause refers to an unreal condition in the present, its verb is an imperfective participle that does not agree with the subject/object. (If the verb is 'be', the form is [way] وی.) Some examples of such clauses are:

[ka mo dúmra ḍer kār ná larəlay...] که مو دومره ډېر کار نه لرلی
if we so much work not have 'If we didn't have so much work...'

[ka amā́n aw laylā́ kor ta rātlə́lay...] که امان او لیلا کور ته راتللی
if Aman and Layla house to came 'If Aman and Layla came to the house...'

[ka tarisā́ paxtaná way...] که تریسا پښتنه وی
if Theresa Pashtana were 'If Theresa were a Pashtana...'

Present unreal condition, result in the present. If the result clause is in the present, its verb is in the past imperfective tense. If the verb is *be* (i.e., if it is parallel to English 'would be'), it comprises the particle [ba] به plus the verb [way] وی. Some examples:

[ka mo dumra ḍer kār nə́ larəlay, wos kor ta tlə́lu.]
if we so much work not have now home to we-were-going
که مو دومره ډېر کار نه لرلی اوس کور ته تللو.
'If we didn't have so much work, we would go home now.'

[ka amā́n aw laylā́ kor ta rātlə́lay pasə́ mo akhistə.]
if Aman and Layla house to come lamb we were-buying
که امان او لیلا کور ته راتللی پسه مو اخسته.
'If Aman and Layla came to the house, we would buy a lamb.'

[ka tarisā paxtā̃ná way wos ba wādə́ way.]
if Theresa Pashtana were now *fut* married was
که تریسا پښتنه وی اوس به واده وی.
'If Theresa were a Pashtana, she would be married by now.'

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Present unreal condition, result in the past. If the result clause is in the past, its verb construction consists of the particle [ba] به, the imperfective participle, and *be* [way] وی The participle agrees with the subject/object; [way] وی does not.

[ka mung dúmra ḍer kār ná larəlay, tera hafta ba xā̃r ta tlə́li way.]
if we so much work not have last week *fut* city to gone been
که مونږ دومره ډېر کار نه لرلی تېره هفته به ښار ته تللی وی.
'If we didn't have so much work, we would have gone to the city last week.'

[ka amā̃n aw laylā̃ har wakht kor ta rātlə́lay kilí ba mo warkə́re way.]
if Aman and Layla every time house to come key *fut* we would have given
که امان او لیلا هر وخت کور ته راتللی کیلی به مو ورکړې وی.
'If Aman and Layla often came to the house, we would have given them a key.'

[ka tarisā paxtāná way mor aw plār ba ye ḍer pəkhwā̃ meṛə́ ta warkə́re way.]
if Theresa Pashtana were mother and father *fut* her very long-time husband to given been
که تریسا پښتنه وی مور او پلار به یې ډېر پخوا مېړه
ته ورکړې وی.
'If Theresa were a Pashtana, her mother and father would have found her a husband years ago.'

Past unreal conditionals. A past time unreal condition or counterfactual in English takes a form like 'If I had been you..' or 'If the Soviets had not established a communist government in Afghanistan...'. In Pashto, a past unreal conditional clause starts with 'if' [ka] که, and contains an imperfective participle plus [way] وی. The participle agrees with the subject/object as usual, but the [way] وی does not change.

These clauses are in the past tense, and so follow the rules for ergative constructions. Some examples of such 'if' [ka] که clauses:

[ka mā dúmra ḍer kār ná way larəlay...]
if I so much work *neg be* have
که ما دومره ډېر کار نه وی لرلی
'If I hadn't had so much work...'

[ka mung dumra ḍer kār ná way laralay ...]
if we so much work *neg* *be* have

که مونږ دومره ډېر کار نه وی لرلی

'If we hadn't had so much work...'

[ka amān aw laylā kor ta rāghə́li way...]
if Aman and Layla house to came *be*

که امان او لیلا کور ته راغلی وی

'If Aman and Layla had come to the house...'

If the verb in the 'if' [ka] که clause is *be* (i.e.,if it is parallel to English 'had been') there is no participle; the verb is just [way] وی. The distinction between present and past unreal condition therefore doesn't exist in Pashto when the verb in the clause is 'if' [ka] که :

[ka sultān mahmúd paxtún way...] که سلطان محمود پښتون وی
if Sultan Mahmud Pashtun *be* 'If Sultan Mahmud had been a Pashtun...' or
'If Sultan Mahmud were a Pashtun...'

Past unreal condition, present result. If the result is in the present time, the verb in the result clause is in the past imperfective tense.

[ka me dúmra ḍer kār ná way laralay wos ba dumra stə́ṛay ná wəm.]
if I so much work *neg* *be* had now *fut* so tired *neg* I-was

که مې دومره ډېر کار نه وی لرلی اوس به دومره ستړی نه وم.

'If I hadn't had so much work, I wouldn't be so tired now.'

[ka zə parún nārógha ná way nən sínf ta tlələm.]
if I yesterday sick *neg* *be* today class to I-went

که زه پرون ناروغه نه وی نن صنف ته تللم.

'If I hadn't been sick yesterday, I would go to class today.'

[ka shorawyắno pə afghānistắn yerghal ná way kəṛay pə hewād ke ba wos ḍer
if Soviets to Afghanistan invasion not *be* done in country in *fut* now many

maktabúna way.]
schools *be*

که شورویانو په افغانستان یرغل نه وی کړی په هېواد کې به
اوس ډېر مکتبونه وی.

'If the Soviets had not invaded Afghanistan, there would be many schools in the country now.'

[ka tā wéle way kenāstáləm.]
if you asked *be* I-was-sitting

که تا وېلی وی کشېناستلم.

'If you had asked, I would sit down.'

Past unreal condition, past result. If the result is in the past time, the result clause includes the particle [ba] به, the imperfective participle, and *be* [way] وی. The participle agrees with the subject/object, but the [way] وی is invariable.

[ka mā dúmra ḍer kār ná way larəlay mór ba me lidə́le way.]
if I so much work *neg be* have mother *fut* I see *be*

که ما دومره ډېر کار نه وی لرلی مور به مې لیدلې وی.

'If I hadn't had so much work, I would have visited my mother.'

[ka zə parun nārogha ná way sinf ta ba tlə́lay way.]
if I yesterday sick *neg be* class to *fut* going been

که زه پرون ناروغه نه وی صنف ته به تللی وی.

'If I hadn't been sick yesterday, I would have gone to class.'

[ka tā wéle way kenastə́le ba way.]
if you asked been sitting*F fut be*

که تا وېلی وی کشېناستلې به وی.

'If you had asked, I would have sat down.'(female speaker)

[ka sultan mahmụd paxtún way paxtanó ta ba ye ḍer kār kə́ṛay way]
if Sultan Mahmud Pashtun *be* Pastuns to *fut* he much work do *be*

که سلطان محمود پښتون وی پښتنو ته به يې ډېر
کار کړی وی.

'If Sultan Mahmud had been a Pashtun, he would have worked hard for the Pashtuns.'

[ka shorawyā́no pə afghānistā́n yerghal nə́ way kəṛay no dākhilí jang ba nə́ way pex səway.]
if Soviets to Afghanistan invasion *neg be* do then civil war *fut neg be* happened

که شورويانو په افغانستان يرغل نه وی کړی نو داخلی
جنګ به نه وی پېښ شوی.

'If the Soviets had not invaded Afghanistan, a civil war would not have happened.'

Conditional sentences expressing ability. A frequently-occurring combination of conditions and results involves constructions that express ability, for example in English, 'If we buy a car, we can go to the city a lot,' or an unreal conditional 'If we bought a car, we could go to the city a lot.' Note how, in the following examples, the 'can' structure with the perfective form of the *be* verb is constant; if the imperfective form of *be* were used, the construction would not carry the 'can' meaning.

[ka mung moṭár wā́khlu no xā́r ta zár zər tlə́lay su.]
if we car buy then city to often go can

که مونږ موټر واخلو، نو ښار ته ژر ژر تللی شو.

'If we buy a car, we can go to the city a lot.'

[ka mo moṭár larə́lay, no xār ta zə́r zər tlə́lay swu.]
if we car had then city to often go could

که مو موټر لرلی، نو ښار ته ژر ژر تللی شوو.

'If we had a car, we could go to the city a lot.'

[ka mo moṭar akhístay way no zə́r zər ba xār ta tlə́lay swu.]
if we car bought be often *fut* city to go could
که مو موټر اخستی وی نو ژر ژر به ښار ته تللی شوو.
'If we had bought a car, we could have gone to the city a lot.'

In conversation, the 'can' or 'could' statements with the imperfective participle and the perfective *be* often occur by themselves, but nevertheless imply a conditional, i.e., the sentence below might imply a conditional like 'if he wanted to' or 'if he had his car'.

[asád kor ta bowə́lay swəm.] اسد کور ته بوولی شوم.
Asad home to could take, *imp* 'Asad could take me home.'

Such sentences contrast with their counterparts having perfective participles, in that the imperfective participle sentences make no statement as to whether the action was carried out or not, whereas the perfective participle sentences imply that the action was indeed completed. Contrast the sentence above with its counterpart with a perfective participle:

[asád kor ta bótlay swəm.] اسد کور ته بوتلی شوم.
Asad home to could take, *perf* 'Asad could take me home (and did).'

Another example:

[asad ḍoḍəy khwaṛə́lay swa.] اسد ډوډۍ خوړلی شوه.
Asad food eat (imp) be 'Asad could eat the food' (maybe he did, maybe he didn't)

[asad ḍoḍəy wə́khwaṛəlay swa.] اسد ډوډۍ وخوړلی شوه.
Asad food eat (perf) be 'Asad could eat the food' (and he did).

F. Other Analyses

Shafeev (1964) describes subordinate clauses according to the part they play with regard to main sentences (much like the analysis here), but further divides the adverbial clauses in terms of the meanings of the clause markers, e.g. temporal clauses (with 'when', 'until', etc.), causal clauses (with 'because', 'since', etc.), purpose clauses (with 'for the purpose of' [lə para che], etc.). He distinguishes [dzəka] ځکه as 'therefore' from [dzəka che] ځکه چې as 'because'.

Mackenzie (1987) refers to complex structures only in passing, but discusses the placement of particles in sentences with relative clauses.

Penzl (1955) lists the adverbial clause markers, mentions the occurrence of perfectives in subordinate clauses, and gives a few examples of relative clauses. He discusses the formation of conditionals in his chapter on verb forms. He lists [dzəka che] ځکه چې as a conjunction meaning 'because'.

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